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ABSTRACT

This report describes a study on how perceptions of home climates, school climates, and interaction between the two factors might affect academic achievement and school related behavior among students of different racial/ethnic groups, sex, and socioeconomic background. The report summarizes procedures and results of the ethnographic phase, in which seventh graders from five ethnic groups (Portuguese American, Jewish American, Irish American, Armenian American, and West Indian American) were studied to determine perceptions of family organization, relationships, and family influence on personal development; and to explore subjects' perceptions of their school climates. Results of a survey among seventh and eighth graders from 10 ethnic/racial groups to elicit their ratings of 13 home climate factors and 13 school climate factors are also summarized. The findings include: (1) racial/ethnic group differences in home climate perceptions; (2) similar perceptions of home climates within ethnic groups; (3) different perceptions of school climates among students of the same ethnic/racial group attending different schools; (4) differences by race/ethnic group, class, sex, and school in absences, academic achievement, and teacher-assigned social ratings; (5) independent effects of school and home climates on school outcomes; and (6) varying but important effects of discrepancies in school and home climate perceptions on academic performance and behavior. Implications for improved educational practices are discussed. (Author/MJL)

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TDR Associates, Inc. Training/Development/Research

FINAL REPORT

A Study of Interaction Effects of School and Home Environments On Students of Varying Race/Ethnicity, Class, and Gender

Volume I

Summary and Conclusions

Prepared for the
National Institute of Education
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Prepared by:

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December, 1981

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FOREWORD

The report is presented in three volumes. Volume I introduces the study; explains its purposes and methods; presents a cross-case analysis of ethnographies on five racial/ethnic groups; reports on a questionnaire survey which builds on the ethnographies; and offers overall conclusions and implications for improved practice and future research. Volume II consists of the complete ethnographies of the five groups studied. Volume III, "A Practitioners' Guide For Achieving Equity In Multicultural Schools" summarizes the study findings, and presents a step-by-step process for multicultural school improvement.

Because this effort builds on prior work, it is not possible to adequately acknowledge here the many individuals who contributed indirectly to the study. Nevertheless, we wish to recognize those who participated directly, and identify their special contribution beyond the shared team effort. John D. Herzog (Co-Principal Investigator) directed the ethnographic study, supervised field staff, edited the fieldworkers' case writeups, and is the author of the introduction to the ethnographies and the cross-case analysis. Herbert J. Walberg (Co-Principal Investigator) conducted the survey data analyses with myself (Principal Investigator and Study Director) and Mary Hyde (Programmer), and he co-authored the survey report with me. I also wrote the Introduction and Conclusion to Volume I, and the Practitioners' Guide (Volume III). Sarah L. Lightfoot (Co-Principal Investigator) participated in critical conceptual, methodological, and interpretive phases of the study. Marjorie H. O'Reilly (Survey Coordinator) managed the survey questionnaire administration and data feedback to the participating schools. Marjorie K. Madoff administered the pilot testing of the survey questionnaire, and participated in its development. The fieldstaff for the ethnographic component, and the subjects of their case writeups are: Karen and Lester Holtzblatt, Jewish-American; Margaret McDonough and Pierce Butler, Irish-American; Seda Yaghoubian and Ara Ghazarians, Armenian-American; Nancy Marshall and Mark Handler, Portuguese-American; and V. Michael McKenzie, West Indian-American. And, last but not least, Joni Herson who typed the report and helped to coordinate the entire effort.

Special recognition and thanks are also extended to the many school personnel, students, and parents who participated in the study, and to Michael Cohen (NIE Project Officer) for his kind assistance and encouragement. Although this was a group effort with individual specialities, I take full responsibility for any errors or misinterpretations of the complete study, beyond the sections of the report which I personally authored and edited.

William J. Genova
Principal Investigator and
Study Director

Abstract

This two-year study which began in August, 1979, was undertaken to explore how school and home "climates" might possibly interact to affect the learning and behavior of students of diverse racial/ethnic, national origin, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds. School climate and home climate refer here to such psychological/social factors as the extent of involvement, expressiveness, goal direction, challenge, and order, which characterize such environments. Prior research has documented separate school climate and home climate effects on student learning and behavior. In this study the investigators set out to explore possible interaction effects--congruities and incongruities between such school climate and home climate factors, which may stimulate or frustrate learning and acceptable/productive behaviors in the school setting. The study included ethnographies of five racial/ethnic groups of seventh graders (N = 63) in five different communities, and a questionnaire survey of 1,290 seventh and eighth grade students in six racially/ethnically mixed middle schools in five different communities.

The major findings of the study are:

1. Inequity in school outcomes is confirmed--there are significant differences among racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups in the sample in days absent, (standardized) reading achievement, grade point averages, and teacher academic and social ratings (but not in suspensions).

2. Some schools are more equitable than other schools--many of the school outcome levels for particular racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups vary significantly, as do their ratings of their school climates, according to which school they attend.

3. Schools vary more than homes--adolescents who identify with particular racial/ethnic groups describe their home climates with striking similarity, yet markedly differently from other racial/ethnic groups. In contrast, students from the same racial/ethnic groups who attend different schools in different communities characterize their school climates quite differently. By socioeconomic class and gender groups, students' ratings of their school climates vary much more than their ratings of their home climates.

4. Schools and homes both affect school outcome--the statistical significance and magnitude of the correlations are highest for independent home-climate and school-climate effects on school outcomes for all students, irrespective of racial/ethnic, socioeconomic class, or gender groups.

5. Home-school discrepancies affect school outcomes--for particular racial/ethnic groups who rate their school climates higher than their home climates on specific variables, such "discrepancies" are correlated with positive school outcomes (e.g., lower absence and higher achievement) in 73% of such cases. For the remaining 27% of the discrepancies, negative school outcomes emerge (e.g., higher absence, low achievement) when the school is rated higher than the home. Though significant, these correlates are modest and varied, showing few meaningful patterns for any particular sub-group across schools.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose and Background

. Multicultural Schooling

This study is concerned with multicultural schooling--with teaching, learning, and social development in schools which serve students from varying racial/ethnic and national origin backgrounds. Historically, the democratic ideal of equal educational opportunity or equal educational attainment for all groups regardless of their racial/ethnic and national origin background has remained more aspiration than fact. Despite apparent gains in equity in America especially in the past two decades, differential educational attainment remains between many minority and majority groups. Such differential school success is self-perpetuating, especially as it often leads to its companion in inequity--poverty.

Many reasons have been put forth to explain this pervasive and continuing inequity. Some have argued that inequity is structured into the very fabric of industrialized competitive societies, and that schools serve merely to sort, label, and credential students for the marketplace according to existing differences, i.e., to perpetuate inequity (Jencks, et al., 1972). Others view minority/poor students as inherently deficient or inferior, thus making a pessimistic or fatalistic appraisal of their chances of success even with school reform (Miller, 1978).

This study is rooted in a cultural differences perspective--a view that differential school success is best explained by differences in language, customs, values, norms, and attitudes which are characteristically associated with certain racial/ethnic, national origin, socioeconomic and gender groupings. For example, Lesser et al. (1964), and Stodolsky and

Lesser (1967) found distinct patterns of mental abilities associated with ethnic group membership, independent of social class. In his replication of Lesser's studies, Marjoribanks (1974) confirmed these findings, and added that different ethnic groups foster the development of different patterns of home environmental factors related to different ethnic patterns of mental abilities.

Several investigators have reviewed research that suggests a relationship between a student's cultural background, and differences in learning and thinking styles (Ramirez, 1974; Lesser, 1976; Dixon, 1977; Weinberg, 1977). In a report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1976), the significantly higher school dropout rate of Puerto Rican students is partly attributed to the American schools' unresponsiveness to their cultural background. Espinoza (1971) and Laosa (1977) give examples of specific conflicts between Mexican-American students and Anglo teachers, in classroom situations related to school failure. Hepner (1971) shows how value conflicts between Mexican-American boys, and the American school, contribute to a pattern of underachievement. Matluck (1978) explains how linguistic and cultural differences between students and teachers interact to produce communication problems, which in turn affect student achievement and socialization.

There is a rather large body of literature on discrepancies between the needs and characteristics of various racial and ethnic minority groups, such as language differences, and teaching and learning in schools that emphasize the dominant culture. In his review of the literature on the performance of Spanish-speaking students, Brussell (1968), concludes that paper-and-pencil test scores are directly related to the extent to which the student is socialized to the English-speaking classroom. Filmore (1978) calls attention to the difficulties presented to students where there is

a mismatch between languages and cultures and between student and teacher.

Goetz (1978) attributes different male/female ability and school achievement problems (e.g., as in mathematics and science) to differences in sex-role cultures in educational settings. Stoll (1974) describes how school achievement is affected by different value orientations toward certain subjects or school achievement in general held by males and females in our society.

It is important to note, however, that despite such differences, many people from varying backgrounds share at least a common faith in schooling as a route to "success," however defined. According to Boocock (1972):

> The empirical evidence has indicated that there is relatively little difference among families in their valuation of achievement. Most children and their parents value success and recognize formal education as an important ingredient. What differs, is the degree to which a general yearning is translated into a workable set of life goals and strategies for reaching them. Parents of school achievers not only expect more and communicate this to their children, but they also teach them the behavior needed to fulfill their expectations. In sum, what children who fail to 'make it' in school lack is role-playing skill, not the desire to succeed and because they do not know how to play the role of student, they are less likely to do the things that will lead to success (p. 76).

This view is supported by Lewis (1970), who describes an especially debilitating incongruity between the typically high aspirations of economically poor parents for their children and their frequent inability to provide models of achievement-producing behavior for their children.

Such contrasts between aspirations and the family's abilities to assist offspring in achieving them have been especially well-documented in studies of the school behavior of Native American children by Dumont and Wax (1969), Wax (1967), King (1967), and Wolcott (1967), for example. Ogbu (1978) suggests that a similar dynamic occurs in the schooling careers of children from varying other ethnic groups. However, where parallel aspirations

and instrumental capabilities are better masked, a higher level of school performance by children is attained. This is documented in case studies of the Amish (Horteller and Huntington, 1971), rural France (Wylie, 1957), and suburban Toronto (Seeley, et al., 1956), among others.

. The Role of School and Home "Climates"

Schools tend to reflect the values, norms, and attitudes of the mainstream culture. In American schools, the mainstream culture has largely reflected the white, middle-class, Protestant work ethic--emphasizing, for example, self-control, subordination to authority, work achievement, punctuality, and order. Students from different racial and ethnic groups come from homes that may or may not stress these norms. Thus, culture and language differences between predominantly Anglo school staff, and Italian, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Portuguese, Asian, Indian, black and other racial/ethnic groups, can establish certain discrepancies between the home and the school with largely unexplored consequences.

This two-year study which began in August, 1979, was undertaken to explore how school and home "climates" might possibly interact to affect the learning and behavior of students of diverse racial/ethnic, national origin, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds. By school climate and home climate we refer to such psychological/social factors as the extent of involvement, expressiveness, goal direction, challenge, and order, which characterize such environments. Prior research has documented separate school climate and home climate effects on student learning and behavior (Tricket and Moss, 1968; Walberg and Marjoribanks, 1974; Brookover and Schneider, 1975; Genova and Walberg, 1977; Brookover, et al., 1978; Miller, 1978, Moos and Moos, 1978). In this study we set out to explore possible interaction effects--congruities and incongruities between such school climate and home climate factors, which may stimulate or frustrate learning and acceptable/productive

behaviors in the school setting.

School and home climates show wide variation in such factors, for example in the extent to which school and family members:

- . are involved (engaged, participate, included) in school or home activities;
- . express (give, show, demonstrate) their ideas, opinions, and feelings;
- . are given direction (guided) by certain goals (purposes, intentions, aspirations);
- . are challenged (aroused, provoked, motivated) to high effort and high accomplishment; and
- . conduct their affairs in an orderly (organized, structured, disciplined) manner.

For students whose school and home climates both show similar patterns regarding the same factors (e.g., high school and home involvement, ready expression in school and home, etc.), their school and home climates are described here as congruent (coinciding, in agreement, alike). For students whose school and home climates are different (e.g., high school involvement and expressiveness--low home involvement and expressiveness, etc.), their school and home climates are described as incongruent (at variance, conflicting, different).

Little is known concerning which congruities and incongruities between school and home environments might promote, and which might be counter-productive, to student learning and behavior. Lightfoot (1978) calls attention to a bias in educational literature through which general school-home incongruities are depicted mostly in negative terms. She argues that in general, some congruities between home and school are destructive, while other differences are constructive.

> Dissonance between family and school, therefore, is not only inevitable in a changing society; it also helps to make children more malleable and responsible to a changing world. By the same token, one could say that absolute homogeneity between family and school would reflect a static, authoritarian society and discourage creative, adaptive development in children (p. 39).

> It is critical, therefore, that we distinguish between creative conflict and negative dissonance between family and school. The former is inevitable in changing society and adaptive to the development and socialization of children. The latter is dysfunctional to child growth and acculturation and degrading to families, communities, and culture. Educational practitioners, who are daily engaged in trying to shape and clarify their relationship with parents and community, must especially learn to discern the positive and negative faces of conflict. Teachers and administrators must recognize that differences and discontinuities between home and school are not necessarily signs of hostility and threat, but rather are potentially constructive for the teaching and learning process. Both teachers and parents, therefore, should be socialized to anticipate and tolerate a level of creative tension, differences, perspectives, and opposing value systems (pp. 40-41).

. What Is A Multicultural School Climate?

Operating from assumptions of culture deprivation, some schools simply place the burden on students of different cultural and language groups to conform (adapt, assimilate) to the mainstream culture, as reflected in predominantly "Anglo" school climates. Other schools have emphasized cultural and language differences. Programs stressing black language and black studies, for example, aim at highlighting and reinforcing those differences. Recent emphasis has been placed on multicultural approaches, where schools emphasize the positive elements of background as well as mainstream culture.

Multicultural and bilingual programs have proliferated in schools in the last decade. Such programs have shown wide variation, and have been associated with continued controversy. Miller (1978) concludes:

> The problems with the full-scale bilingual-bicultural school are obvious. It is possible that in a given district a respectable number of English-speaking parents would approve even enthusiastically of their children learning Spanish, but how many would be interested in having them acquire a working knowledge of Tagalog (p. 167)

However, what is a school to do that has several, or a dozen, different racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups? Overemphasis of cultural differences tends to reinforce isolation and inequity within the mainstream society. Simply ignoring or denigrating cultural differences fosters an insensitivity that denies cultural identity and continuity. To construct a more definitive conception of multicultural education, however, we need to know

more precisely the possible consequences of congruities and incongruities between home and school environments, on students of varying race/ethnicity, national origin, class, and gender groups.

Impetus to this study came largely from previous work on school climate by the principal investigator and his colleagues, especially in their work with multi-racial/ethnic schools. One example concerns their study of a state-sponsored, experimental, integrated city school (Genova and Thomas, 1976). White middle class students were bused to the racially mixed school from surrounding suburbs. The school stressed the study of minority cultures in an "open" education environment. While demonstrating moderately high affective and interpersonal learning, approximately two-thirds of the predominantly lower class, black students regressed in cognitive learning (as compared to peers in the surrounding city public school). For these students, the required skills, strategies, and discipline for academic attainment were not fostered in that school environment. The white middle class students fared better in academic achievement, apparently because of greater congruity between "open" education and the independence and self-discipline fostered in many white, middle class homes. This notion is supported by investigators such as Rist (1973), who have described the often inadvertantly destructive effects of trying to impose an "open," middle class environment on lower class students. The contrast of this environment with a more "strict" home environment may establish conflicts such as passivity versus initiative, withdrawal versus work and achievement, and subordination to authority versus sensitive coping and influence.

In work currently in progress, Genova is studying the climate of a large urban high school with wide variation in student racial and ethnic

composition (the city has twenty-one different racial and ethnic groups). The student ratings of thirteen school climate factors[1] show wide variations according to the students' home language and gender. For example, students from homes where Portuguese is the predominant language rate most of our thirteen climate factors higher than the other home-linguistic minorities in that school. Conversely, students from homes where French/Haitian is the predominant language rate most of our climate factors low. In addition, these Portuguese students report significantly higher course marks than the French/Haitian students. Moreover, the Portuguese student population is the largest linguistic minority in the school; the French/Haitian population is one of the smallest linguistic minorities in the school. These results lead us to speculate about whether the predominantly Anglo teachers in this school create merely a bi-cultural climate that is more congruent with the larger sized Portuguese group.

Other findings tend to refute this rather simple-minded logic, however. Students from homes where Chinese is the predominant language give average to low ratings to the school on several climate factors. For example, their rating of the degree of "Order" in the school is the lowest of any group. They are also a relatively small minority in the school, yet their reported achievement is high. Likewise, females rate several school climate factors lower than males, yet females report significantly higher course marks than male students in the school. The lower ratings

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[1] These factors are: Community, Accessibility and Receptivity, Involvement, Equal Treatment, Groupings, Learning Orientation, Expressiveness, Goal Direction, Challenge, Dealing With Problems, Order, Options, Influence Distribution (see Appendix A for a definition of these factors). They were derived from studies of environmental factors of various types or organizations, in which the factors cluster around three common dimensions: relationships (affect), task (productivity), and organization (structure).

by female students for "Equal Treatment" and "Influence Distribution" suggest that some sex bias exists toward females. Yet, female students in this school report significantly higher course marks than male students! Futhermore, closer examination of the data shows different and complex patterns of specific climate factor ratings, and climate correlates, by students of different racial, ethnic, class, and gender backgrounds.

Results such as these suggest that simple, direct relationships between school climate factors and education outcomes are not readily evident, especially as they concern specific racial and ethnic groups, socioeconomic strata, and males and females. As documented earlier, independent school climate and home climate effects have been demonstrated. Thus, the next logical step in our research appeared to be a study of what we expected to be rather complex interactions between combinations of these factors--specific school climate factors; specific home climate factors; student race, ethnicity, class, and gender--and school success. We further reasoned that an effective, multicultural school climate would involve primarily productive congruities and incongruities between school and home climates, irrespective of student race/ethnicity, class, and gender.

B. Study Design and Methodology

The study design and methodology are only briefly described here, as more extensive treatments are given in Sections II and III which report on the ethnographic and survey components of the study design, respectively. What follows is a brief description of these components to explain how we approached our search for an effective, multicultural school climate, as developed in the preceding section.

. Ethnographic Component

In the first phase of the study we assigned five male/female

fieldworker teams to five (similar) racial/ethnic student groups--Armenian, Irish, Jewish, Portuguese, and West-Indian. The fieldworkers recruited male and female, seventh grade students to interview and observe, from four schools in four different communities which agreed to cooperate. Jewish students were recruited through a synagogue, as the two school systems approached were unwilling to "single out" any particular group of students for study.

The fieldworkers were given two major tasks. First, they were to participate in the development of a home climate questionnaire based on their understanding how their student-subjects characterize their homes. To focus their work we reviewed with them our already developed school climate questionnaire, which we hoped to parallel in the home climate questionnaire. Their second task was to write up ethnographies for their respective groups--case descriptions and analysis of how seventh graders of particular racial/ethnic and class backgrounds and genders, view the influence of their home climates, particularly, on their school success (see Section II, p. 12, for a detailed report on this component).

. Survey Component

Half way through the ethnographic study we developed a 147 item, 15 page questionnaire which includes sections on student background information, school climate, and home climate factors (see Appendix A, p.106). It was pilot tested and refined with 155 students, based on their (the students) suggestions and through statistical analyses of the results. We then administered the questionnaire to all seventh and eighth grade students in six, racial/ethnically mixed middle schools in five different communities (N = 1,290 students). An analysis and interpretation of the results of this survey is given in Section III, page 60. An overall interpretation of the findings from both the survey and ethnographic components are given in Section IV, page 94.

. Approach and Sensitivity

Before turning to the ethnographic and survey components of the study, we would like to emphasize several aspects of our approach and sensitivities.

First, as interventionists our focus is on school improvement, not on home improvement (which we leave to others who are more comfortable with the issues involved in home intervention). Our study of home climate is simply to better understand the range, variety, and commonality of this important student background dimension, so that we may in turn better understand how schools might respond more productively to such variation.

Second, we believe that schools should respond to individual needs, and that studies of group differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, class, and gender) run the risks of stereotyping and value-laden comparisons. We have tried to avoid these common pitfalls, and perhaps not always successfully. We have undertaken this inherent risk because we also believe that a better (unprejudiced) understanding of group differences can help us to better understand, and to develop strategies for dealing with, individual differences. Our view of effective multicultural schooling is where individual differences are recognized, valued, and treated with equity.

Third, the treatment of home/school discrepancies and school outcomes is highly exploratory and speculative--it is not prescriptive. The evidence uncovered regarding home/school climate discrepancies tied to school outcomes requires replication. In Volume III, "A Practitioners' Guide For Achieving Equity In Multicultural Schools," our prescription follows more established research and practice. It emphasizes general school climate improvement for all students, but includes a procedure for identifying possible differential (inequitable) effects on any student subgroups within the school.

With these caveats in mind, we now turn to the ethnographic component of the study.

II. CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

A. Introduction

The plan of this chapter is straightforward. First, we summarize the ethnographies appearing in Volume Two of the report, organizing the material under the three domains (Organization, Relationships, Personal Development) and thirteen variables of the Home Climate Questionnaire (HCQ). Thus, how the Jewish-American, Irish-American, etc., youths perceive their homes in terms of the "Structure" variable of the Organization domain appears first in the summary section of this chapter. We proceed next to "Influence," then to "Dealing With Problems" etc., through the thirteen variables. In the discussion of each variable, data from the study of Jewish-American youths appear first, since the fieldwork with this group was most extensive and the results of it are most thoroughly presented. The other groups are discussed in standard order throughout, according to the completeness of fieldwork and writing about them: Irish-American, Armenian-American, Portuguese-American, West Indian-American. Conclusions about the Portuguese and West Indian teenagers are the most tentative, among the five groups studied.

Second, at the end of the discussions of the variables within each domain, we make predictions of how the adolescents whom we studied, and others similar to them, would be likely to answer the HCQ if it were administered to them in its present form. These are predictions of central tendencies, and should not be interpreted as implying an abnormally high degree of uniformity of perceptions among the youngsters of these or any other ethnic groups. The predictions are essentially capsulizations of the summaries of perceptions by HCQ variables that comprise the bulk of this chapter. Unfortunately, only an uneven minority of the teenagers in the ethnographic study completed the HCQ, because it did not exist in final form until

the fieldworkers had mostly broken off contact with the youths.

Third, at the end of the discussion of the variables within each domain we also offer a series of fairly explicit suggestions of how teachers and school administrators might reconstruct the climate of a school or classroom so as to stimulate groups of children similar to those in this study to greater educational productivity. A limited discrepancy model undergirds these suggestions: we assume that children learn most when they are asked to make sense of modest cognitive and emotional disparities in their environments, as predicated in the original proposal. We therefore do not suggest strategies for making home and school environments completely isomorphic, as most analysts of home-school relationships do, nor do we suggest revisions of the school climate that would exaggerate differences between it and home climate for children of a particular ethnic background. Moderate contrasts are our goal.

We reiterate here our position that the summaries, predictions, and suggestions of this chapter apply only to youths from each ethnic group who were involved in this study, and to others similar to them. We do not claim that our findings are necessarily true for all Armenian-American seventh graders in the United States, for example, although we suspect that they have some versimilitude for them. We also remind the reader that the data on the five groups differ in terms of depth, breadth, and the thoroughness with which they have been analyzed and written up. Specifically, information on Irish-American and West Indian-American girls is very sparse in the ethnographies; the sample of Portuguese-American boys and girls is unfortunately small; and not all of the material on the West Indian-American boys was available when this cross-case analysis was being written. These circumstances are more fully explained elsewhere in this report.

Throughout the summaries, predictions, and suggestions of this chapter we avoid direct comparisons among the five ethnic groups studied. We feel that explicit contrasts of this sort might be interpreted as disparaging of one or more of the groups. Further, consideration of how information about the home climate of each group might be used to improve the school performance of youngsters from that group is likely to be more productive than making comparisons.

It should also be remembered that the ethnographies are basically the fieldworkers' codifications of how the separate sets of teenagers perceive their families and homes, fleshed out by parents' perceptions and occasional observations by the fieldworkers. The ethnographies should not be read as "objective" (i.e., etic) descriptions of how the families function from a dispassionate outsider's perspective.

In our view, the five ethnographic reports included in Volume Two of this report demonstrate that the adolescents (and parents) studied in each community perceive their home environments in similar ways, and that modal perceptions of home climates differ systematically from ethnic group to ethnic group. These inter-community contrasts are dramatic, both generally and with respect to participants' depictions of their homes along the thirteen dimensions of the Home Climate Questionnaire. They provide indirect support for two of the original hypotheses of the study: that youths from various ethnic groups will differ both in their perceptions of their homes and in their measured school performance.

B. Organization Domain

This Domain includes the adolescent's perceptions and feelings about how the family operates and functions to maintain itself, with respect to internal dynamics and also in relation to the outside world. Variables classified under Organization are Structure, Influence Distribution, Dealing with Problems, and External Relations.

1. Structure

In developing questions for the HCQ and in analyzing fieldnotes, Structure was defined as the degree to which the child sees parents as attempting to direct and influence the child's behavior; the strength of the child's perceptions that rules and standards exist for the behavior of family members; and the child's estimate of the emphasis in the family on obedience, control, and discipline, vs. responsibility and autonomy.

The ethnography of the Jewish-American seventh-graders in Westville demonstrates that these youngsters perceive a clear framework of rules and shorter range "decisions" as prevailing in their homes and as affecting their behavior. These rules appear to the children to be generally equitable and intended to benefit them, but also as negotiable with the parents and thus constantly evolving, in the direction of greater flexibility and responsibility for the teenagers. A great deal of energy is invested in this negotiating, but obedience and control are not major issues in the families, since discussion of rules and the outcomes thereof are evident to all.

These seventh-graders, especially the boys, report doing few chores and routine work around the house; they regard such assignments as unjustified. Their mothers accept maintenance of the household

economy as their responsibility, in which allocation they are tacitly joined by the fathers. The teenagers appear to classify "chores" as remnants from the days of greater dependence earlier in their lives, which they are trying to leave behind with the support of their parents.

These Jewish adolescents live busy, demanding schedules, especially during the school year, in which parents play important facilitating roles by providing transportation, financing, reminding, and encouragement. Each child participates in his/her own mix of Hebrew School, lessons, sports, parties, hobbies, family visits, etc. The children look forward to school vacations but are rapidly frustrated by the "free time" that occurs therein. Parents and youths collaborate to structure such time, particularly in the summer, when many attend overnight camp. The children prefer camps in which the schedule of activities is determined in advance by the staff, rather than daily by the campers' choices.

Both boys and girls in this group are allowed to roam their suburban, middle class neighborhood, on foot or bicycle, without restriction, as long as they stay within an area bounded by several major highways. To go beyond, both permission and transportation by parents are required and fairly easily arranged. The times that the children may be out of the house, on their own, are clearly demarcated in each family's system of rules, particularly those for being home in the evening.

The Irish-American teenagers in Rumfield, mostly boys in this sample, also perceive a clear framework of rules and expectations operating in their homes. These rules are understood but rarely discussed, by them and fellow household members; they exist and change

slowly in application to themselves, but not as the result of negotiation and deliberate evolution. These boys (and girls) accept the legitimacy of their parents' decisions. However, for a few obedience and control by parents are becoming issues, dealt with mainly by evasive tactics and rarely through discussion.

Chores and work around the house do not appear to be topics of concern to these children; most of the mothers singlehandedly maintain the homes, with little help from anyone else. The Irish teenagers have unstructured after-school and vacation schedules, in general, although many boys play on organized sports teams. Otherwise, their free time is low-key, non-goal-directed, and much-enjoyed by all of them; it is mostly expended in the neighborhood and at home. Both mothers and fathers attend and support avidly their sons' sports activities, but few are seen to encourage and facilitate their children's involvement in other organized enterprizes.

The children are allowed to move through their Rumfield neighborhood without restriction, as long as they are at home by designated hours. They perceive other neighborhoods in both Rumfield and Boston proper as dangerous and hostile, and report few instances of being taken by parents to sites outside their familiar turf.

Rules and regulations in the Armenian-American homes of Rivertown are well-known to the children who live in them. Control by and obedience to the parents is assumed, and little discussion of the rules occurs. The children regard their parents' regulations as well-intentioned but often excessively "traditional". (It should be remembered that all of the parents and most of the children are foreign-born.) Although rules are seldom discussed in these households, it

appears that they are articulated (i.e., verbally repeated) more often than is the case in the Irish-American homes.

All members of the Armenian families, including the teenagers, perform chores regularly. These are assigned in part according to tradional sex role definitions, and their legitimacy is not questioned by the youngsters. The youngsters maintain a busy out-of-school schedule, for the most part. They engage in athletics, lessons (e.g., ballet), and Armenian cultural activities analogous to the involvements of the Jewish-American children. In addition, various of them have part-time jobs or assist in their parents' businesses, in assuming which tasks they sense parental approval. Many of the non-economic activities (e.g., sports, lessons) seem more self-initiated and self-monitored. They need not depend on adults for transportation to and from such involvements.

The Armenian-American boys are free to explore their neighborhood and perhaps beyond, and do not seem to attribute great danger to surrounding districts. Girls claim to spend more time at home, performing the somewhat more numerous chores they are assigned. Both boys and girls adhere to clearly established deadlines for being home after school and in the evening.

The Portuguese-American adolescents interviewed seem to share the belief that their parents demand respect and obedience from them, above all else. Most of them see their parents as traditional and strict, inviting little discussion of the rules through which the household operates. In these homes, girls typically have more chores than boys, whose contributions are expected to be financial, when they are somewhat older. Many of these students especially the girls,

are required to be at home outside school hours, helping around the house, doing schoolwork, or simply staying off the streets of Hillside; organized activities such as lessons, hobbies, and even Portuguese cultural and religious events are infrequent. Some of the boys are allowed to spend time with friends, outside the house, during non-school hours. Many of these youngsters' social worlds are bounded by the street or block on which they live, supplemented by visits with parents to the homes of relatives elsewhere in Hillside and other towns; girls, especially, are impressed with the idea that the world beyond the home is dangerous.

The West Indian-American boys perceive their parents to have high standards and high expectations for them as compared to the parents of peers of other backgrounds whom they know. However, many (but not all) of the boys find it relatively easy to evade or ignore their parents' regulations. They do little work around the house for their parents, and are involved in few organized and recurrent activities, such as teams and hobbies, outside the school. Much of their free time is spent informally at the neighborhood center and in minor, occasionally illicit escapades in their neighborhood of Central City.

Influence Distribution

Influence Distribution was defined for this study as the child's perception of the power or "agency" exercised by individual members of the family, within rules established by parents and applied to specific issues as they arise; as the degree to which individual family members seem to be able to affect family affairs.

The Jewish boys and girls sense themselves as involved in a joint effort with their parents to increase the youngsters' freedom

by demonstrations of the youngsters' reliability and responsibility in activities of increasing complexity and significance. This "agenda" includes pressure by the teenagers on the parents to allow them greater privileges and freedom, through argument and citation of examples of reliable behavior. In general, they perceive themselves as able to influence their parents in directions they deem desirable. At the same time, they regard their parents as appropriate and final arbiters of their requests; the children do not always get what they want, but they believe that their parents are wiser than they are about the ways of the world.

One of the ways in which parents maintain their credibility as rule-makers is deliberate "involvement" of themselves in many of the activities of their children. They do this by occupying the same settings as their children as often as possible; by planning and carrying out family excursions and other joint activities; and by serving as instigators and responders in conversations with the children on a wide range of topics. Some of the children also collaborate willingly with their parents in special work projects around the house and yard, which contrasts with their resistance to chores and tasks assigned to them for independent completion. To the extent that parents seem in these ways authentically and sensitively "involved" in their children's lives, they are perceived by the children as both accessible and amenable to being influenced by them.

These Jewish seventh-graders perceive their mothers and fathers as essentially equal, albeit complementary, in terms of decision-making in and for the family. Certainly fathers do not dominate mothers

in these homes, although day-to-day domestic matters are the women's to discharge, with the men excused. The children appeal to mother, father, or both in their attempts to change rules or gain opportunities to demonstrate competence. Sometimes they follow rather complex strategies of persuasion, moving from one parent to the other.

Irish-American youngsters in our sample make little effort to discuss and change the family situation, including the prevailing rules. They do not actively work towards independence; its achievement will occur inevitably, some time in the future. Some are restive, attempting to evade parental regulations when possible, and occasionally showing signs of defiance. They express no notion that parents' decisions are alterable in any major way by actions that they, the children, can take. As mentioned above, the rules governing the household are largely implicit and thus not easily pinned down for discussion.

These students perceive their parents as caring for them, but in a distant, uninvolved way. Only a few of the parents try to structure their own and the family's schedules so as to be able to "do things" together and talk with their children in a relaxed and non-instrumental atmosphere. Parents' attendance at their sons' athletic events is the most common type of parental involvement in these Rumfield families.

There is also little evidence of joint decision-making in these families. In most, the mother is in charge of events within the home, the father of representing the family to the outside world. The ideas and wishes of children are neither solicited or rejected, in either case; they are assumed to be irrelevent by all concerned, in-

cluding the children. In many homes, the father's dominance in external affairs appears to be more symbolic than actual; the children perceive the mother as the more influential spouse.

The Armenian-Americans perceive their fathers as the most powerful figures in their homes. As children, they do not expect to influence family decision-making directly, although they do not feel inhibited about making their opinions known to their parents. Although influence is concentrated in the hands of parents and (especially) fathers in these families, the youngsters indicate that physical punishment is very seldom used.

Armenian parents apparently make few deliberate efforts to involve themselves in the activities and settings chosen and occupied by their sons and daughters. On the other hand, almost all members of each Armenian household participate regularly in the multitudinous cultural and religious events of the Armenian-American community in Rivertown. This participation produces a wide range of shared experiences for the members of each household.

Little information on Influence Distribution is available in the ethnography on the Portuguese-Americans. As discussed under Structure, parents expect respect and obedience from their children, but the actual mechanics of decision-making are not described. Direct and indirect parental involvement in the youths' social and recreational affairs is limited, since in many homes both parents work, and the children's participation in such activities is itself slight.

The internal dynamics of the West Indian homes are infrequently discussed in the report on that group. The ethnographer indicates that "home life" is an especially private sphere for West Indians,

making discussion of it with the boys especially difficult. The boys and their parents appear to inhabit mostly separate worlds. When they are at home, the boys move in settings almost completely controlled by their parents; outside the home, they run their own affairs, with little reference to parents' wishes and seemingly out of the parents' realm of understanding.

Dealing with Problems

This variable was defined for this study as the child's perception of the effectiveness with which the family carries out basic routines and resolves issues as they arise; his/her perception of the outcomes of the family interaction process, as mediated by its structure, decision-making style, and quality of its relations with outsiders.

The Jewish youngsters appear to have faith in the vitality of the family systems in which they live. They trust, although they do not always like, their parents' judgements of their maturity and readiness for new responsibilities. They feel listened and responded to by their parents. Charges that parents are "old-fashioned" are made infrequently. Most of the youngsters regard their homes as supportive and harmonious environments in which to grow up. This variable is not discussed extensively in the ethnography on the Jewish seventh-graders, or in the other ethnographies.

The Irish youngsters' overall reticence makes it difficult to conclude much about their appraisals of their families' efficacy in dealing with problems. They are not accustomed to sharing opinions on such matters with outsiders, according to the ethnographer.

The Armenian children express some impatience and frustation with their parents' "traditional" modes of structuring the home,

solving problems, and dealing with the outside world. The youngsters feel that they know how more assimilated families deal with problems, and are annoyed that their knowledge about such matters is not sought and used by their parents.

Again, information directly bearing on Dealing with Problems is not available from the Portuguese informants. However, the adolescents seem to regard their families as viable and reliable economic units, upon with they can depend for sustenance and to which they expect to contribute in the not-so-distant future.

Little information on this topic exists in the report on the West Indian boys.

External Relations

For this study, this variable was defined as the child's perception of the degree of trust and ease with which family members deal with persons who are not family members; the fluency and conviviality of relations with outsiders. Data on this subject are discussed under Relationships: Ethnicity and Religion, (pp. 35-38).

Predictions of Scores on HCQ Organization Variables

The preceding observations lead us to the following predictions of how the adolescents in the five samples would describe their families in the Organization component of the Home Climate Questionnaire (HCQ):

Jewish-American: medium in Structure, high in Influence Distribution, high in Dealing with Problems

Irish-American: high in Structure, low in Influence Distribution, no prediction in Dealing with Problems

Armenian-American: High in Structure, low in Influence Distribution, medium in Dealing with Problems

Portuguese-American: medium to high in Structure, no prediction in Influence Distribution, medium in Dealing with Problems

West Indian-American: medium in Structure, low in Influence Distribution, no prediction in Dealing with Problems.

Extrapolations to the School Setting

We have applied a limited "discrepancy" model in deriving these extrapolations. We assume that modest contrasts between a child's perceptions of home climate and school climate stimulate his/her academic productivity.

Jewish-American children like those who participated in this research are likely to thrive in a clearly-structured school in which teachers can be convinced to modify rules and requirements according to the needs and competence of individual students. These youngsters are accustomed to negotiating with responsive adults many of the conditions of their lives. They may be frustrated by school personnel who are completely unwilling to negotiate, and bewildered in a school that asks them to establish their own academic goals and rules for behavior. Their teachers should be purposeful individuals who will not react defensively to the youngsters' frequent initiatives. They should be accessible to the students for individual conferences, and evince genuine interest in the students' activities and personal opinions.

In terms of School Climate Questionnaire (SCQ) variables, we predict that Jewish-American children like those in our sample will do well in a school that they rate high in order, medium in Options and low in Dealing with Problems and Influence Distribution.

Irish-American youths like those in the Rumfield group might best understand a school in which rules and regulations are clearly established and seldom discussed or questioned. However, they might make more academic progress in a setting in which they are guided to assume ever-increasing responsibility for establishing their own academic goals and norms for behavior. A highly differentiated curriculum, and opportunities for individual modifications of the

General program, might be confusing to them, but perhaps not if they are carefully supervised and encouraged in the use of such options. Teachers need to give students from this group rather careful instructions for assignments and projects. They should expect little immediate enthusiasm for one-to-one relationships with the instructor, and anticipate that the children will initially interpret negatively a teacher's expressions of interest in their lives and opinions.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Irish-American children like those in our sample will respond productively to a school that they perceive as high in Influence Distribution and Options, and medium in Order and Dealing With Problems.

Armenian-American youths from backgrounds similar to those of our subjects in Rivertown will be able to achieve well in a structured school that mirrors the climate of their homes. However, these youngsters are also capable of operating autonomously in spheres of their lives not closely supervised by adults. A school in which they are challenged and guided to apply this capacity to academic affairs seems likely to maximize their learning. A wide range of options in the school program would be supportive of this effort. Teachers, as authority figures, are likely to receive good and careful work from these children. They will expect relatively impersonal relationships with teachers, preferring to interpret the events of their lives on their own.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Armenian-American teenagers like those in our sample will respond productively to a school that they perceive as high in Options and Influence Distribution, medium in Dealing with Problems, and low in Order.

We will make fewer predictions about Portuguese-American youths similar to our Hillside subjects, because we possess limited

data from a small number of respondents of that background. Such children seem likely to be comfortable in a structured school, with teachers who are relatively unambiguous in their expectations of them. They may seem uninterested in conventional options and extra-curricular opportunities, since their thinking may be focused on family and job-oriented matters; the development of unorthodox options may be a means of stimulating their academic productivity. They may be suspicious of efforts by teachers to get "close" to them, since adults in their out-of-school life seldom approach them in this way, and the teachers themselves are likely not to be members of their kinship and ethnic networks.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Portuguese-American children like those in our sample will function well in a school they discern as high in Order and Options, and medium in Dealing With Problems. We emphasize that these predictions are extremely tentative, for reasons already specified.

We also propose few extrapolations for youngsters like the Central City West Indian-American boys. Given the high expectations and rigid controls imposed by parents at home, and the relatively unstructured lives these boys lead outside of home and school, clear rules and explicit demands for academic productivity seem required in the school. Teachers should not expect students from this group to feel comfortable interacting with them, since the boys do not perceive adults in general as responsive to their needs and wishes; if teachers can respond quickly and appropriately to reasonable suggestions made by the boys, a more productive affiliation by the latter to the school may emerge.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that West Indian-American adolescents like those in our sample will respond productively to a school they perceive as high in Order and Influence Distribution, and medium in Options. These predictions are also extremely tentative.

C. Relationships

This Domain includes the adolescent's perceptions and feelings about how the members of his/her household get along with and support each other. Variables included under Relationships are Cohesiveneness, Involvement, Communication, Equity and Factions, and Ethnicity and Religion.

Cohesiveness and Involvement

We will discuss these two variables together. Cohesiveness is defined here as the child's sense of the support and affection, and absence of basic conflict, that prevail among family members. Involvement is the child's perception of the frequency and intensity of activities undertaken by family members together. Involvement has already been partly explored under Organization: Influence Distribution, above.

Both children and parents in the Jewish-American families report deliberate and effective efforts to promote what they call "family feeling" in their homes. The youngsters, in particular, perceive concern and affection to emanate from their parents, and are at a "pre-individuated" age when the sense that they belong to a warm family unit is pleasing to them. They have fairly precise ideas about occasions when "family feeling" may be especially strong (e.g., dinner, outings, certain collaborative work projects), and criteria for predicting its occurrence (e.g., no outsiders present, all members involved and enjoying themselves). Both children and parents seem to assume that the latter will make vigorous efforts to promote the cohesiveness of the family, especially through involving themselves in many of the activities of the children, but similar efforts by the teenagers are not expected and do not occur.

Parents deliberately involve themselves in their children's lives by doing sports and hobbies with them, facilitating the teenagers' participation

in activities via transportation and monitoring the youths' schedules, and both initiating and responding to opportunities to talk to the youngsters on a wide range of subjects. The adolescents, in turn, carefully appraise the sensitivity and quality of their parents' attempts to stay involved with them. Effective involvement by parents ensures and enhances the cohesiveness of the family, especially from the point of view of the adolescent.

The adolescents do not attempt to involve themselves in the lives of their parents outside of the home, and parents effectively exclude their youngsters from participating in most of the adult activities they engage in beyond the homestead: the effort at "involvement" is unidirectional and restricted in range. Parents encourage children to know and feel attachment to members of the extended family, largely through visits on weekends and holidays.

The Irish-American children perceive their parents as supportive and concerned about them, but not demonstrative in their expressions of affection. The children, in turn, express respect, but articulate little affection, for their parents. Occasions when something like "family feeling" might arise were not mentioned by the children; these youngsters expect, for example, that family outings will inevitably be boring. Parents only occasionally involve themselves in their children's lives (e.g., attending boys' sports contests), and their activities outside the home are very vaguely comprehended by the children. The fieldworker suspected that considerable disharmony exists in many of these homes, although it was directly discussed by none of the children. Interaction with extended kin is sporadic and not strongly promoted by the parents.

Deliberate efforts to promote cohesiveness were not reported by the Armenian-American youths, either, but instances of enjoyable shared activity

were frequently cited. In particular, members of these families work together, around the home and in some of the parents' businesses, and participate as a group in the cultural and religious affairs of the community. There is little evidence of disharmony in these homes as constituted during the time of the study. As immigrants, the parents are not easily able to involve themselves in the affairs of the youngsters outside of the home and the Armenian cultural scene. Nontheless, a high level of corporate activity prevails within the home, to which all members apparently willingly contribute.

The Portuguese-American youths appear to regard their homes as essential subsistence bases from which to make their ways in the world. Family feeling is apparently neither discussed nor deliberately promoted, but the children sense that fellow members are committed to mutual assistance to each other. Parents do not involve themselves in the children's activities, but the children are vicariously and sometimes directly involved in the work worlds that their parents and other relatives occupy. The family as a cohesive economic unit is an important concept in the lives and thinking of these children. Connections with extended kin are regularly cultivated by the members of most households.

The West Indian-American boys are protective of the privacy of their homes: events there are felt to be the exclusive property of the members. Yet much of the energy and enthusiasm of the boys is directed to activities outside home and family, from which they appear to be striving to disentangle themselves, at least emotionally. Parents have high ambitions for their children, but are very slightly involved in the most important events in the youths' lives. Their parents' out-of-the-home activities, including involvements with co-ethnics, are of little interest to these boys.

Communication

Communication is defined for present purposes as the child's perception of the accessibility of family members to each other for the exchange of information, ideas, and feelings; and the child's perception of members' respect for each other's privacy within the home.

A great deal of talk on a wide range of subjects characterizes the Jewish-American households in this sample. Parents seek out children to discuss a wide variety of topics, from trivial to "deep;" adolescents likewise initiate discussions with the parents on many subjects, excepting only relations with the opposite sex. This potential for discussion with their parents is valued highly by the youngsters, who feel that the conversations often aid them in the quest for maturity and autonomy. Parents and child are able to continue having these discussions to the extent that the child perceives his/her parents as sensitively "involved" in his/her life (see above); in this sample, most of the parents are so perceived by their offspring.

Parents feel a virtual imperative to communicate with children about adolescent affairs, but no necessity to discuss with the youths aspects of their own adult lives. As a result, "communication" in these homes focuses almost entirely on the children's enthusiasms, problems, and interests. Although each child in the sample has his/her own room, the privacy he/she enjoys depends on the parents" estimate of his/her demonstrated maturity: the more of this, the greater the privacy accorded.

The Irish-American families contacted by our fieldworkers contrast strikingly with the Jewish families on this dimension. The term, reticence, seems applicable to both juvenile and adult members of these households. Parents do not seek out their children to discuss specific topics; adolescents appear to avoid conversations with, and even long sentences directed at, their parents. The communication that does occur revolves around daily,

pragmatic concerns. The parents' interests and activities outside of the home are infrequently mentioned to the youngsters. In many homes, the father seems especially removed from communication with the children and the mother.

Privacy is a special issue in these homes, related to the habit of reticence. Adults and children can be so reticent because family members so highly value each other's and their own mental and physical privacy. So far as possible in these modest homes the boys and girls have their own rooms and spaces, the boundaries of which even the adults respect.

In the Armenian-American families there is considerable informal discussion about numerous, usually non-sensitive subjects, but the "imperative" to communicate fully and on almost everything is not felt. The Armenian subjects in the study report that they feel free to express themselves to their parents on any subject, but that their requests, proposals, and even information supplied are frequently ignored. On the other hand, parents and teenagers participate in so many activities together--housework, school homework, cultural and religious affairs, even business--that lines of communication are more open than the content and frequency of conversation on specific topics might suggest. The Armenian youngster may have a better idea of the activities of his/her parents in the adult world than the children of other ethnic groups. Most of the youngsters in the sample have their own room, but the significance of privacy in this group is not discussed in the ethnography.

The extent of communication among household members in the Portuguese-American community is not examined in the report on this group. Apparently, neither reticence nor the "discuss everything" ethic prevails. With both parents and older siblings frequently working at jobs that take them out of the house at different times, recurrent concentrations of family members

when extensive talk is possible do not materialize. Full privacy for family members, including the adolescents, is difficult to provide in the relatively small houses occupied by these families, but it is regarded as an appropriate goal for all to aspire to.

We know little about communication in the homes of the West Indian-American youths. It appears that parents frequently talk to the boys about the expectations they have for the boys' education, behavior, and future, and about their West Indian heritage, which is supposed to differentiate them from American Blacks. The boys listen respectfully and seriously, seldom communicating about the activities and projects in which they are involved outside of the home, and which dominate their conversations with peers. No evidence appears in the material on these boys about the amount of privacy they feel they enjoy or want within their homes.

Equity and Factions

This variable is defined in the present research as the child's sense of how fairly family members treat each other, and of the importance of favoritism and power alliances within the household. It is a topic on which all five ethnographies present rather skimpy data.

The Jewish children seem to regard their families as basically equitable institutions. In some of the homes, older siblings are resented for having greater privileges, but this is not an endemic condition of the group. The girls do not appear to resent doing more chores than the boys. Sometimes parents' decisions are disputed, but in general the mothers and fathers of this group of children enjoy the respect of their sons and daughters as even-handed and fair.

In the Irish sample, some of the seventh graders perceive specific siblings as exercising unwarranted privileges with respect to their ages,

but equity does not emerge from the interviews as a major issue in the homes. Since the Irish youngsters were very reluctant to say anything negative to the fieldworker about their families, it is hard to know if we are in touch with the children's real feelings on this topic.

Some of the Armenian girls expressed resentment at having to do domestic chores, while their brothers are more or less exempt from such assignments. This is an echo of the "traditionalism" of these homes, previously discussed. Otherwise, the youngsters seem to perceive their parents as fair, and their homes as unsullied by favoritism and power alliances.

The Portuguese girls also do more work around the house than their brothers, yet expressions of resentment are muted. The family as a mutual aid society is a basic theme of Portuguese-American family life; persistently inequitable treatment would damage its capacity to serve as such.

No data on this topic appears in the materials on the West Indian boys.

Ethnicity and Religion (and External Relations)

We define this variable here as the child's awareness and degree of acceptance of his/her ethnic and religious roots. Ideas about roots are frequently expressed in discussions of persons and events external to the family, i.e., a friend is referred to as "Armenian also"; a neighborhood event is something everyone from "our church" attends; etc. Thus, in this section we will discuss Ethnicity and Religion together with the child's perception of his/her family's handling of External Relations, which was previously defined.

The Jewish-American children were recruited from Hebrew School classes at two Westville temples. Most of them prepared for their Bar Mitzvahs during the fieldwork year, and their friends, in general, are also Jewish.

Yet neither religious beliefs nor cultural aspects of their ethnicity impinge clearly on the adolescents' descriptions of the functioning of their families. Rarely are family customs identified as "Jewish;" rarely do the children quote their parents as urging them to behave in certain ways because Jewish people ought to do so. Ethnicity and religion are formal "givens" in the lives of these teenagers, the sources of little that is vital: not pride, not embarrassment, not guidance in the affairs of life.

Dealing with the external world does not seem to be a problem for these families, in the eyes of the teenagers. In this delusion the youngsters may be unthinkingly encouraged by their parents, who make no effort to share their struggles and experiences with the boys and girls. Except in one family, economic problems seem not to exist, so far as the children are concerned. To them, the world beyond the front door is a network of resources to exploit: camps and classes to attend, games to play, malls to windowshop, etc.; television is always available. Aside from traffic, few dangers exist out there that the child and his/her parents cannot cope with.

The Irish-American teenagers were amused and puzzled by the field-worker's questions about their "Irishness." They are aware of a certain cachet about being Irish, at least in contemporary Boston, yet can identify no personal characteristics of themselves that are especially Irish. They pretend to no knowledge of Ireland, past or present. Questions on these topics embarrass them. Concerning the Catholic faith to which they all formally subscribe, they are clearer: it is dull and irrelevant, in their opinion, with no bearing on their present and anticipated lives.

The Irish youngsters had few ideas about how their families handle external relations. These children's awareness is largely bounded by home, school and neighborhood; parents' dealings with outsiders is one of the

topics seemingly seldom discussed within the family circle. The field-worker especially noted the contrast between these children's claims to maturity and their naivete about the functioning of the adult world.

Ethnicity and religion are both important to the Armenian-American youths and their families. All are immigrants, whose native tongue is Armenian, and all live in the heart of an Armenian community which has become a national center of an "Armenian Renaissance," through which many persons of this background are rediscovering their ethnic (and religious) roots. These children speak Armenian with friends, family members, and other adults, and participate in a large number of sports, social, and educational activities organized by Armenian organizations in Rivertown. They appreciate that being Armenian does not result in discrimination or persecution in this country, and try to avoid appearing clique-ish vis-a-vis other students in school.

As with the children of many recent immigrants, the Armenian youngsters are moderately critical of certain aspects of their parents' adjustment to life in this country. Some cultural practices and expectations for young people seem overly "traditional" to the younger generation. All of the families in the study attend one or another of the Armenian churches in the town, but religion does not seem to play a major role in the lives of any of the youngsters.

Most of the Portuguese-American children can speak Portuguese, all have a sense of connection with the Azores of the mainland, even to a particular community there. It is hard to tell from the materials whether "being Portuguese" is considered by the youths to be advantageous, disadvantageous, or neutral. Most of their friends are of Portuguese extraction, and they live in a neighborhood heavily populated by co-ethnics: a degree

of mutual attraction must prevail. Extended family members are supposed to assist each other, but it is not clear whether fellow Portuguese-Americans are expected to be more supportive to one another than to an American of another background. These families and the teenagers all attend local Catholic churches fairly regularly, but otherwise religion does not seem to occupy a prominent position in their lives.

The parents of the West Indian-American boys attempt to impress upon them that they are different from and advantaged compared to blacks of southern and northern U.S. extraction. However, the boys seemingly reject this argument. They sense that whites do not usually distinguish between them and American blacks, and that the latter resent expressions of West Indian differentness and alleged superiority. Thus, while associating primarily with boys of West Indian background, these youths try to slough off whatever West Indian culture traits they possess and become as "American" as they can. The ethnographic materials are silent about the boys' involvement in church and religious affairs.

Predictions of Scores on HCQ Relationships Variables

The preceding considerations lead us to the following predictions of how the five groups would describe their families in the Relationships component of the HCQ:

Jewish-American:	high in Cohesiveness and Involvement, high in Communication, medium in Equity and Factions, medium in Ethnicity and Religion
Irish-American:	medium in Cohesiveness and Involvement, low in Communication, low in Equity and Factions, medium in Ethnicity and Religion
Portuguese-American:	high in Cohesiveness and Involvement, not rated in Communication, medium in Equity and Factions, high in Ethnicity and Religion
Armenian-American:	high in Cohesiveness and Involvement, medium in Communication, medium in Equity and Factions, high in Ethnicity and Religion

West Indian-American: low in Cohesiveness and Involvement, not rated in Communication, not rated in Equity and Factions, low in Ethnicity and Religion

Extrapolations to the School Setting

Again, we apply the limited discrepancy model in deriving these proposals.

Jewish-American teenagers like those who participated in this project might be stimulated by a partial contrast at school to the cohesiveness and involvement of adults that they experience at home. In school, they will profit from pressure to produce good work increasingly on their own. The school environment should be warm, but not indiscriminately accepting. These students should be challenged to use and develop their already considerable communication skills in their school work and dealings with teachers. Their intellectual interests might be broadened via a sensitive multicultural program stressing both content dealing with various ethnic and religious groups, and the establishment of processes in the school through which members of different groups can come to associate with each other more comfortably.

In terms of the SCQ variables, we predict that Jewish-American children similar to those in our sample will do well in a school that they rate as medium in Community and Involvement, medium in Accessibility and Receptivity, high in Equal Treatment, and low in Groupings (i.e., the absence of exclusive cliques, etc.).

Irish-American youngsters similar to the ones we worked with seem likely to benefit from efforts to build their communication and interpersonal skills, even though the children are likely to be uncomfortable at the beginning of such a program. Teachers must notice and reward even modest examples of self-expression at the start, and give considerable respect to the children's exquisite sense of privacy. Heightened feelings of belonging and of parti-

cipating in a class or school in which members communicate with each other effectively may enhance these youngsters' curiosity and readiness to learn. Like the Jewish youngsters, their dedication to learning might also be increased through participation in a multicultural program that includes information about their own background and that of other ethnic groups, as well as school-wide efforts to increase inter-group communication. Some semi-exclusive groupings of these children with peers going through similar phases of growth may be necessary while they are developing communication skills.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Irish-American children similar to those in our sample will do well in a school that they assess as high in Community and Involvement, high in Accessibility and Receptivity, medium in Equal Treatment, and medium in Groupings.

According to the fieldworkers, the Armenian-American children believe that they are not listened to by adults at home, and sometimes by adults at school also. Efforts by teachers to involve these youths in result-getting discussions and conversations might enhance their overall involvement in schoolwork. Armenian students might also profit from chances to employ their skill at working cooperatively directly to the business of the school (e.g., group projects, student government), perhaps in the process serving as models for other students.

Their status as recent immigrants, and their families' experiences in persecution in other countries, make Armenian teenagers sensitive to being excluded and to mild teasing by other youngsters; for this and other reasons already stated, a comprehensive multicultural program in the school is suggested.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Armenian-American children similar to those in our sample will perform productively in a school that

they perceive is high in Community and Involvement, high in Accessibility and Receptivity (especially with respect to teachers), high in Equal Treatment, and low in Groupings.

We suspect that other Portuguese-American teenagers, like our contacts in Hillside, come to school harboring clear hopes of acquiring useful skills and knowledge. They will respond less productively to high levels of warmth and belongingness than to efficiently organized and individualized instruction, and to precise communication by teachers of the learning outcomes expected. Teachers need not be particularly approachable, but they do need to be equitable in the treatment of students. As with the other groups, a multi-faceted inter-cultural education program seems desirable, in which students can confront and learn about aspects of their own and fellow students' ethnicities.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Portuguese-American children similar to those in our sample will perform productively in a school that they perceive as medium in Community and Involvement, high in Equal Treatment, and medium in Groupings.

West Indian-American students like those in our sample are deeply enmeshed in a process of separating themselves psychologically from their families, and from many aspects of their West Indian background. Incorporation into a group led by an adult, such as a class or school, is not likely to attract them. However, sharing their experiences of the process of separation with a non-judgemental outsider, such as the fieldworker in this study, may fascinate and assist them. In all interactions they will be extremely sensitive to patronization and prejudice, real or imagined. Youth of this age and ethnicity seem to need each other's support very much; the school should probably tolerate in them a degree of non-provocative self-segregation

while they pass through this stage of development. A comprehensive multi-cultural education program might be useful to them, especially in increasing their understanding of their Caribbean background and its significance in this country.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that West Indian-American children similar to those in our sample will perform productively in a school that they perceive is low to medium in Community and Involvement, and medium in Groupings.

D. Personal Development

This Domain includes the adolescent's perceptions and feelings about the directions and conditions of growth and learning in his/her life, particularly as these are defined and influenced within the family. Variables classified under Personal Development include School Learning, Out-of-School Learning, Aspirations and Identity, and Maturity.

School Learning

For the purposes of this study, School Learning is defined as the child's perception of the pressure from parents and other family members for him to learn and develop in school, and his/her conception of the assistance rendered to him/her in school-related tasks by parents and other family members.

The Jewish-American adolescents whom we observed and interviewed have clear, pragmatic, and future-oriented ideas about the nature and significance of school learning. They believe that one should work hard in school in order to get good grades; that good grades assure admission to college; and that graduation from college leads to a well-paid job and/or a successful career. (No sex differences were noted in the formulation of these beliefs.) They see the work of the seventh and later grades as integral links in the chain.

The preceding paradigm elevates grades over learning as the primary objective or work in school. Parents insist that they also emphasize learning for learning's sake in discussions with their children; the teenagers acknowlege having heard this idea, but it possesses little credibility for them. This is perhaps related to the fact that they experience school as almost totally boring. They feel that what they are taught is wholly unrelated to what they will

be doing later in life, and certainly unconnected with their present preoccupations. School subjects loom to them as sets of largely unrelated facts and tasks; in learning them they gain no sense of mastery or of incremental growth. The students are unable to become personally involved in schoolwork.

Students and parents agree that grades of B or better in major subjects are satisfactory for seventh-graders. (By this standard, at least three-quarters of the Westville sample are "good" students.) They also perceive some subjects, such as mathematics and science, as "more important" than others, such as Spanish and social studies. Students react with dismay when they receive poor grades, especially in "important" subjects. Parents typically respond to poor grades by attempting to manipulate the child's guilt and concern for the future, both of which exist in abundance in the area of school achievement. They rarely impose restrictions (e.g., limited television) or other punishments (e.g., grounding).

The teenagers believe that the attainment of good grades depends on the amount of time they invest in assignments and studying, and on their natural ability in particular subjects. Quality of work, measures of effort other than time invested, effective planning, creativity, etc., do not enter into their explanations.

Parents lightly supervise their children's completion of homework, and help them study for tests and figure out especially difficult problems. However, at home the youngsters themselves are basically in charge of their own studying, especially of the work involved in completing long-term projects. Doing their schoolwork is one of the few areas in the lives of those adolescents over which they have almost complete responsibility for their own behavior and the results thereof.

There is less to report about the Irish-American youths' perceptions of school,partly because the ethnography of this group is less detailed, but more importantly because the adolescents' ideas about school are much less complex. Most of them assume that school is a fact of life to be endured until they graduate, which each expects to do. It is generally a boring and over-regulated place, although a few teachers are more interesting than others. The curriculum seems unrelated to present interests or to the very vague ideas about their adult lives that most of the youngsters have, and there is no way to change this or any other aspect of school. The adolescents know that their parents want them to do well in school, but they recall few discussions with them on this subject that helped them to obtain a more detailed conception of the parents' aspirations and rationale for such wishes.

"Education" is, however, very high on the Armenian-American children's hierarchy of values. The path to a good job, financial success, and an appropriate marriage (for both men and women) passes through higher education, and to arrive there one must do well in the lower schools. Whatever is taught in school is probably valuable, however boring and remote it may seem. It is important to work hard in school. Armenian youngsters seek good grades and approval by teachers, and most of them attain both of these.

However, the students in our sample are strongly critical of the Rivertown school they attend. Most distressing to them is the minority of fellow students who are disrespectful to school staff and destructive of school property. Also, certain teachers are distant and disorganized. Most of these children learned English relatively easily, in the bilingual program or on their own, and the rest of the academic program of the school presents no serious challenge to them.

On the other hand, they greatly prize its splendid physical plant, the ban on physical punishment of students, and the absence of discrimination against Armenians by teachers and most other students. In these assessments the students are comparing this junior high school with the schools they previously attended overseas.

The Armenian students perceive that their parents care greatly about their children's school progress. The parents attend meetings at the school and try to help their children according to suggestions provided by the school. They share the students' appraisal of the school and regret that more stringent academic standards are not upheld.

School for the Portuguese-American adolescents is a less intense matter. In a sense, it is a disability of childhood, although it is also connected with getting jobs in ways that are not altogether clear. Some Portuguese parents in the sample encourage their children to do as well as possible in school, while others appear to mention the subject infrequently. Some of the youngsters talk about finishing high school and going to college, while others do not have a secondary diploma clearly within their sights. Most of the youngsters regard their present school as a forbidding place: run-down building, too many rules, teachers of varying quality, boring. They do not feel discriminated against because they are Portuguese. Many can tolerate the constricting environment precisely because no one, including themselves, expects them to achieve very much, under the circumstance. They look beyond their school days to work, an income, time to spend as they please.

The West Indian-American boys are caught between their parents' frequently communicated high regard for education, and their own diffidence about it. The latter feelings result from their experience of school and from their suspicions that for Black people in the United States pay-off from education is by no means assured. The boys' classroom behavior, as observed by the fieldworker, suggests boredom and nascent resistance. Yet in seventh grade and at age twelve or thirteen, they complete their work fairly regularly and do not present control problems for their teachers. How each will resolve this tension in the future remains to be seen.

Out-of -School Learning

For the purposes of this study, Out-of-School Learning is defined as the child's perception of the pressure from family members for him/her to learn and develop in settings outside of school, and the child's perception of family members' assistance to his/her learning and development in such settings.

The Jewish-American youths participate in a demanding schedule of classes, practices, meetings, etc., in the hours after school and on weekends. They go to lessons, pursue hobbies, participate in organized athletic competition, etc. Their engagement in such activities is closely facilitated by their parents, especially the mothers, who bend their own lives to provide transportation, monitor the children's adherence to the often demanding schedule, and pay the bills. School and these individual assemblages of out-of-school activities dominate the lives of the teenagers; during the summer and other school vacations they are often at wit's end to know how to spend their time. They discover that they do not know how to deal with unstructured time.

These young people approach out-of-school activities with an attitude quite different from their demeanor in school. They visibly

enjoy these involvements, even though many are physically and/or mentally demanding; they invest full concentration in them, on most occasions; they tolerate repetition and isolation (as in the acquisition of skills) cheerfully and for long periods of time. They explain this attitude, and its contrast to their in-school behavior, as stemming from the nature of the tasks they are asked to perform in the non-school settings. Specifically, in most of them they perceive themselves as moving through a hierarchical sequence of abilities, which they had a voice in choosing to acquire in the first place. They derive from this a sense of growing mastery and achievement in an enjoyable and important area of life. They experience neither of these feelings very often in school.

The Jewish teenagers also attend Hebrew School regularly each week. The classes here are perceived to be more like regular school than the self-selected activities discussed above.

Sports (for the boys) and religious classes are the main out-of-school learning activities of the Irish-American youths. For the children in this group there is no demanding round of sessions to attend at designated times, or intertwined skills to acquire through diligent practice. Outside of school, and when they are not doing homework, the main activity of these youngsters is "playing" with their friends. This usually consists of informal sports, bike-riding, and talking. With the exception of a few boys on teams, who see their athletic prowess as possibly contributing to their subsequent college and adult careers, out-of-school time is passed, rather than used. Parents encourage, pay for, and attend their sons' athletic activities, but otherwise do not promote or faciliate their children's out-of-school involvements.

The Armenian-American seventh graders engage in a range of

lessons, clubs, and sports outside of school. Their parents approve of such involvements, but the youngsters appear to choose and connect themselves with the activities more independently than the Jewish children do. This is partly an environmental difference: the gymnasia, halls, etc., are within bike-ride for the Armenian children, while access for the Jewish youngsters requires transportation by car.

The Armenian children also more commonly hold part-time jobs, and assist their parents in the latter's economic enterprises, than the adolescents in the other groups. The children seem to enjoy such involvements; they value the money they receive, and they and their parents see the work as useful socialization into the breadwinner role that each youngster will assume in later years. Further, in such work these youths penetrate the adult world of their parents and other grown-ups; they gain a sense of participation in family affairs that is reflected in their ratings of family Cohesiveness and Involvement, in the Relationships Domain.

The out-of-school activities of the Portuguese-American are limited, according to scattered information in the report on this group. Beyond religious instruction, chores occupy much of the time of the girls. The boys are either required to be at home, or allowed to socialize with their friends. Fantasies about part-time employment preoccupy both boys and girls, but in the sample only one of them, a boy, has such a job (selling papers in the morning). The possibilities for other kinds of out-of-school learning activities do not seem to be well worked out in the minds of these children or their parents.

The materials on the West Indian-American boys suggest that they, too, engage in a small number of organized out-of-school activities.

Few if any appear to hold jobs or to be thinking seriously about part-time employment. Much free time is spent at the well-equipped neighborhood center, where the boys engage in pick-up sports (especially basketball) and relaxed socializing. They do not appear to desire more formal involvements, or perceive opportunities for them in the environment in which they live. Their same-sex, same-age peer group, composed mainly of boys of West Indian background, provides the setting for most of their out-of-school life.

Aspirations and Identity

For the purposes of this research, Aspirations and Identity is defined as the child's perceptions of the kind of person parents and family members wish him/her to become, and the clarity and challenge of the child's own conception of his/her prospective adult identity. Aspects of this variable have already been discussed in several preceding sections.

The Jewish youths envision themselves as college graduates and subsequently as respectable professionals and/or successful businessmen and women. Boys and girls appear to share these same, undifferentiated aspirations. The youngsters' parents approve of the designated roles and careers and discuss them with the children. The pages of the ethnography do not mention the psychological characteristics and/or the non-economic activities the youngsters and their parents also consider to be appropriate goals. Although the parents of these children are not much involved in political or civic affairs, it is not clear whether the gap in the report originates in the subjects' lack of concern for these areas of development, or from incomplete documentation. In the materials presented, the influence of education (i.e., grades) on who a person eventually becomes is much emphasized.

The ambitions of the Irish-American children focus on graduating from high school, attending a college chosen on the basis of its athletic teams, and getting a job. High school graduation is perceived as nearly inevitable, and welcomed as the ending of the period of watching life go by that the teenagers appear to be in at the present time. Colleges are not ranked in terms of their academic standing or social prestige; rather, the boys especially rate them according to the quality of their athletic programs and whether they (the boys) are good enough athletes to fit into the programs. Jobs are infrequently delineated by type, except that some boys express interest in careers in professional sports. The children report few conversations with their parents on these matters. However, all of the parents definitely expect their children to graduate from high school, and many share their sons' hopes that a career in sports will materialize for them.

As reported earlier, the Armenian boys intend to become financially successful via good grades and the best possible higher education. The girls aspire to grades and higher education, and then to "a good job" and marriage. An adult lifestyle supported by sufficient money is important to both sexes, but the Armenian youngsters less often specify particular professions than the Jewish youths. The Armenian children also seem ready to become involved in their ethnic group's cultural activities and political re-awakening, but as Americans, not as Armenians. These youngsters' parents applaud the development of their children's economic ambitions and support the youngsters' aspirations as expressed here. They encourage their participation in part-time paid work and in economic activities emanating from the home.

Most of the Portuguese-American students want to graduate from high school; those who are unclear about this seem uncomfortable in admitting to the fact. Education after high school is only a vague possibility, however; the children seem unclear about what college is. If it is a continuation of the regimented irrelevance they have thus far experienced in school, they are not attracted to it. Their conceptions of appropriate jobs after graduation are relatively modest: the trades, clerking in a store, regular factory work. They hope to avoid unskilled, menial work of the sort that many of their parents and older siblings do, but are aware that this may not be possible. The parents of these children seem to want them to complete high school, but after that their expectations are unclear. Probably they anticipate that the children will become contributing wage-earning members of the household, living in the parents' house or not far away. What these children think about such prospective arrangements is not discussed in the ethnography.

The long-range aspirations of the West Indian youngsters are scarcely discussed in the materials on this group. Clearly the boys are troubled by the employment problems they foresee for themselves as Blacks, and by certain aspects of their West Indian background. They do not insist that they will leave school before graduation, but they are not promising to remain, either. Their parents believe that no amount of education can be too much, and press them to stay in school as long as possible, and to think of obtaining a scholarship to go on to college. Many of the boys, however, cannot resonate to this theme.

Maturity

For the purposes of this research, Maturity is defined as the child's perception of the degree to which his/her parents treat him as a competent, reliable, and grown-up person.

What might be regarded as the "basic curriculum" of the Jewish-American home focuses on maturity. Parents and child are engaged in a collaborative effort to prepare, assess, and reward reliable and responsible (i.e., mature) behavior on the part of the child. The children continually press for increased recognition in this area; the parents seem to desire to perceive their children as mature persons for their age, but insist on moving in this direction step-by-step, requiring the children to demonstrate ever-increasing levels of competence. In general, the children respect their parents' diagnosis of the degree of responsibility they are ready for. Occasionally, a parent may estimate that a child is prepared for more independence than the child himself/herself is willing to accept. In these cases, the child shares his/her reluctance with the parents and an adjustment is made.

For these parents and children, maturity is linked with more specific behavioral characteristics such as reliability in following through on directions and conforming to rules, responsibility in making judgements as to activities to back away from, allocations of time for homework, and appropriate calm and good sense in unfamiliar or threatening circumstances.

The Irish-American youths in our sample often chafe at restrictions placed upon them by their parents (e.g., night-time deadlines, who can visit them in their rooms), as evidence that parents regard them as "children" and do not recognize how grown-up they are. The boys especially enjoy displaying to each other their supposed sophistication about the world, but the ethnographer was impressed that they actually know very little about what happens outside their neighborhood. Parents and children do not seem to have worked out any techniques through which the children might acquire and display evidence of increasing maturity. Indeed, this is another topic seldom discussed among house-

hold members in our sample.

Maturity is an area of conflict for the Armenian-American youths and their families in our sample. According to the children, their parents continue to expect absolute obedience and deference from them, even though they are teenagers and can and do make their way in many areas of life outside the home without parental supervision. This is an aspect of what the children refer to as their parents' "traditionalism". It is a problem in many of the homes the ethnographers visited.

The approach of sexual maturity occasions increased protectfulness of girls by male and adult members of the Portuguese-American families in the sample. The girls seem both to enjoy and resent this new kind of attention with its implied message that increased age renders them less responsible and reliable than they were before. The boys in the sample are treated differently by their families, with respect to the degree of maturity, they are assumed to have attained. Two are free to make their own schedules and commitments out of school hours, while one must come home immediately after school and remains closely supervised by his parents. He appears to value their protectiveness.

Maturity emerges as a key developmental issue for the West Indian boys the ethnographer came to know. Much of their behavior, including escapades of mischief and the style of their "hanging" at the neighborhood center, can be interpreted as beginning efforts to distance themselves from their natal families, as seems proper to them for "mature" young men. Their parents do not share their vision of them, and continue to make efforts to control and influence their lives. Some remain firmly under parental thumbs, and some have taken major steps toward behavioral, if not emotional independence.

Predictions of Scores on HCQ Personal Development Variables

The preceding considerations lead us to the following predictions of how the five groups of adolescents would describe their families in the Personal Development component of the HCQ:

Jewish-American: high in School Learning, high in Out-of-School Learning, high in Aspirations and Identity, medium in Maturity

Irish-American: medium in School Learning, medium in Out-of-School Learning, medium in Aspirations and Identity, low in Maturity

Armenian-American: high in School Learning, medium in Out-of-School Learning, high in Aspirations and Identity, low in Maturity

Portuguese-American: medium in School Learning, low in Out-of-School Learning, medium in Aspirations and Identity, low to medium in Maturity

West Indian-American: high in School Learning, medium in Out-of-School Learning, high in Aspirations and Identity, low in Maturity

Extrapolations to the School Setting

Again, we apply the limited discrepancy model in deriving these proposals.

It seems unnecessary to consider measures to increase the grades-oriented behavior of Jewish-American students like those who participated in this study. Their perspectives on school might be broadened, however, if attributes of the out-of-school learning settings that so thoroughly engage them could be adopted by the school. The children could be encouraged in various of their classes to choose skill

areas of interest to them as individuals and work through them, bit by bit, until they are mastered. Strategies and technologies for self-paced mastery learning have been worked out by educational psychologists, but are seldom used in American schools.

Such a program might help these youngsters experience more pleasure in learning for learning's sake, in school as they now experience it outside of school. Additionally, self-paced instruction requires the learner to be responsible for his/her own learning. The Jewish adolescents might respond enthusiastically to this new approach for the development and expression of reliability and responsibility.

The rather monolithic, high status career aspirations of the Jewish adolescents might be broadened and made more realistic by the development of a variety of programs sponsored by the school in which students are enabled to observe, perform, and study a range of occupations, some of which they may never have considered before.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Jewish-American children like those in our sample will do well in a school that they rate high in Learning Orienation, high in Expressiveness, medium in Goal Direction, and high in Challenge.

The basic challenge to school personnel working with Irish-American youngsters similar to those we interviewed is their lack of engagement in learning, in school and outside. Data on the girls are sparse, but a possible stratagem for capturing the attention of the boys might be the multidisciplinary study of sports. This is a topic that can be approached from a variety of often-overlooked perspectives: psychology, biology, physics, sociology, literature, etc. Except as "gym", it is not a usual item in the curriculum, but then the Irish students, by their own testimony,

are almost completely alienated from what is taught now. The study of sports would be rewarding in its own right, of course, but should be carefully structured to lead the students back into the mainstream of the parent disciplines at appropriate junctures.

Limited personal aspirations and a low level of sophistication about the adult world are also characteristics of the Irish youth we studied. Supervised work-study experiences, outside of Rumfield and with the approval of parents, might be productive programs for the school to sponsor for these youths.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Irish-American children like those in our sample will do well in a school that they rate medium in Learning Orienation, medium in Expressiveness, medium in Goal Direction, and low in Challenge.

The Armenian-American youths we came to know are not challenged by the normal school program. Honors programs, advanced placement, independent study, etc., seem appropriate responses. These adolescents are also deeply engrossed in planning and fantasizing about their expected first full-time jobs and careers. They probably could be enthusiastically recruited to relatively sophisticated studies of various occupations and labor market trends, via both work-study and classroom approaches.

These students feel a disparity between their own and their parents' estimates of their level of maturity. The school could move productively into this area of offering programs to Armenian and other youth that emphasize independent and autonomous completion of assignments. These programs could include, but not be limited to, the self-paced mastery experiences suggested earlier. Tied to them might be a stepped up and more detailed system of reporting students' achievements in this programs to parents,

whose assessments of the children's maturity might thereby be favorably influenced.

In terms of SCQ variables, we predict that Armenian-American children like those in our sample will do well in a school that they rate high in Learning Orientation, medium in Expressiveness, high in Goal Direction, and high in Challenge.

The Portuguese-American youth in our sample are repelled by various remediable aspects of their school: the rickety building, the outmoded books and equipment, the rigid behavior code. Improving these and other features of the school would probably increase these youngsters' interest in it, and offer further disproof of the hurtful notion that "The Portuguese are not interested in education." An attractive school building and program might also encourage the relatively mature Portuguese boys, especially, to direct more of their available time and energy into school-related activities.

The Portuguese adolescents contacted by our field workers involve themselves in few out-of-school programs and command a very limited knowledge of contemporary vocational opportunities. Developing a community school program in the regular school building which would then serve essentially as a community multi-service center, might make available a previously unimaginable range of "out-of-school" opportunities to these youth. The community school and the regular school staffs might also collaborate in career education and college awareness programs, employing in-school and on-site components, with the goal of increasing these teenagers' understanding of the options open to them.

In terms of the SCQ variables, we predict that Portuguese-American children like those in our sample will do well in a school that they rate

high in Learning Orienation, medium in Expressiveness, high in Goal Direction, and medium in Challenge.

In working with West Indian-American youths like those in our study, frank confrontation with the realities of discrimination in employment, housing, etc., seems called for. These topics should be honestly and prominently featured in the syllabi of appropriate courses, such as social studies and English. Outreach to these students via a vigorous community school program, as suggested in the preceding paragraph, might do much to reduce the perceived poverty of out-of-school learning opportunities in the neighborhood, and possibly result in discovery by the youths of new interests in the regular school program.

A sophisticated career education and college awareness program might be advantageous for this group also. Finally, these boys' delicate sense of maturity, more properly of being in the process of becoming men, must be treated non-judgmentally and sensitively, as suggested in greater detail at the end of the discussion on the Relationship Domain.

In terms of the SCQ variables, we predict that West Indian-American children like those in our sample will do well in a school that they rate medium in Learning Orienation, high in Expressiveness, high in Goal Direction, and medium in Challenge.

III. QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

A. Instrument Development

Approximately half-way through the ethnographic study, described in the preceding section, the fieldworkers worked with senior project staff in developing home climate scales and items. Given that their fieldwork was guided by our existing thirteen scale, seven item-per-scale School Climate Questionnaire, we examined how well those scales/items fit with how the case study students were describing their homes and families. We decided that with appropriate modification, eight of the thirteen school climate scales were comparably descriptive of the students' homes across the five racial/ethnic groups being studied. Thus, for these eight factors we developed eight parallel home climate scales, with modified or new items to describe important home episodes derived from the fieldwork. The resulting parallel and non-parallel scales are:

Common School and Home Climate Scales	Independent School Climate Scales	Independent Home Climate Scales
1. Community-Sense of Cohesiveness	9. Groupings	9. Ethnicity
2. Accessibility & Receptivity-Communication	10. Expressiveness	10. Out-of-School Learning
3. Involvement-Involvement	11. Goal Direction	11. Aspirations and Identity
4. Equal Treatment-Equity and Factions	12. Challenge	12. Maturity
5. Learning Orientation-School Learning	13. Options	13. External Relations
6. Dealing With Problems-Dealing With Problems		
7. Order-Structure		
8. Influence Distribution-Influence		

The home climate scale and item development involved several staff sessions during which dozens of candidate scales and items were generated, debated, evaluated, and refined. From these we selected thirteen

scales with seven items per scale which best withstood this critique, to be pilot tested. We then selected/developed items to measure certain student background characteristics judged important to the study, such as race/ethncity, national origin, socioeconomic status (class), and gender. All items were then compared to standard word lists for fifth grade students, to insure that our vocabulary would be understood by most seventh and eighth graders who made up our sample. To complete the questionnaire we added an already tested, four item-per-scale version of our School Climate Questionnaire.

In the first pilot test the questionnaire was completed by two separate groups of twelve seventh and eighth grade students, mixed by race/ethnicity, gender, and school achievement levels. In addition to filling out the questionnaire the students were asked to circle any word, phrase, or item which they didn't understand or found offensive. Completion times were recorded for each student, and one-hour discussions were held immediately to hear the students' critique and suggestions. Based on this experience we eliminated one item per variable (from seven to six items), and about three dozen word and format changes were made.

In the second and final pilot test the questionnaire was administered to all seventh and eighth grade students (N = 131) in one K-8 school which typifies the student mix of our six survey schools. The questionnaire was then further refined based on statistical analyses of the results, including frequency distributions, analysis of variance (for discriminant validity), and item-to-scale correlations (Cronbach's alpha internal consistency reliability). For the home climate scales we selected for use in the survey the four (of six) items which showed both the highest alpha values and highest standard deviations (variances).

The complete questionnaire as given to students is shown in

Appendix A (p. 106). The item-to-variable assignments and item polarities of the home climate and school climate sections of the questionnaire are shown in Appendix B (p. 124).

B. Sample, Administration, and School Feedback

The sampling design as stated in our proposal called for the administration of the questionnaire to 1,000 students, made up of ten racial/ethnic and two gender groups, and two "school success" levels. However, because schools were reluctant to "single out" particular groups by race/ethnicity and school attainment levels, we decided to administer the questionnaire to all seventh and eighth grade students in six urban, racially/ethnically mixed, middle and junior high schools. At an estimated 125 students per grade level per school, the expected sample was 1,500 students. The actual sample of completed, usable questionnaires is 1,290 students:

School	Usable Questionnaires	
1	281	
2	259	
3	163	
4	68	
5	303	
6	216	
	1,290	TOTAL

Insofar as possible, the middle or junior high schools attended by the students participating in the ethnographic phase of the project were approached first for participation in the questionnaire survey. Then senior project staff called upon personal contacts in schools where the student body included large numbers of students of two or more of the ethnic groups under study. Finally, individual school demographic data from the State Department of Education were examined. Once schools were identified, an initial call was made to the principal to invite him or

her to participate in the study. Six of the nine principals called agreed to participate.

During a one-hour meeting with the principal at each survey school the purpose of the study was explained in more detail, procedures for the administration of the questionnaire were reviewed, the options for various levels of feedback were presented, and the principals' questions were answered. Project staff then encouraged the principal to convene, at a later date, a meeting of the appropriate school staff so that the purpose of the study and their role in it could be clarified. Only two principals chose to do this and these schools proved to run the smoothest in terms of actual administration of the questionnaire to all seventh and eighth grade students. The principal of one school asked that the administration take place only in music classes, a process which extended over three days as opposed to the one-half day usually required in the other schools. In the two schools in which teachers had received little preparation for the disruption of their regular class schedule, the mechanics of administering the questionnaire--which involved matching individual students with specific pre-numbered questionnaires--became very complicated and the percentage of questionnaires screened out because of incompleteness or lack of clarity was higher (e.g., schools 3 and 4, shown above).

During the actual administration, project staff distributed the questionnaires and answered student questions about the project, got the students started, and circulated to clarify questions for students who raised their hands. Teachers generally remained in the room while students were completing the questionnaires. All questionnaires were collected by project staff at the end of the allotted administration time of one class period, and were hand screened to eliminate those with >20%

incomplete items, multiple responses, and/or obvious set responses (128 of 1,418, or 9% were thus eliminated).

After administering the questionnaire, project staff returned to the school to meet with a small group of teachers and/or guidance counselors to explain how the outcome data (course grades, standardized achievement test scores, attendance, suspensions, and in-school academic and social behavior ratings by teachers) were to be collected and recorded by student identification number. These teachers were paid for this work.

Once the data was analyzed, it was presented in table and graph form form to each school during a one-to-two-hour feedback session with the principal, and in some instances his or her staff. Because of low teacher morale in Massachusetts due to massive layoffs, budget cuts and school closures, none of the schools chose to have an inservice workshop on the study findings for all staff, as initially planned.

C. Analysis

Descriptive statistics for the variables are shown in Tables 1 through 4 (see Appendix C, p. 134). The items in Table 1 pertain to student background factors such as grade level, sex, family constellation, and socioeconomic status. Tables 2 and 3 show the univariate statistics and reliabilities of the home climate and school climate variables. The median internal-consistency reliability of the home climate variables is .54; and two--Maturity and External Relations are less reliable. The median reliability of the school climate variables is .44. The general range of reliabilities from low moderate to high moderate was anticipated, since the research plan called for measuring a large number of variables on one questionnaire with moderate reliability rather than only a few with high reliability.

Other analyses are described below in conjunction with the results and discussion, given the number and complexity of analyses conducted. We have placed the main analyses of the study--home/school climate discrepancies and school outcomes by students' race/ethnicity, class and gender--last in the following sequence. First we examine each component of these analyses separately; student background characteristics, home climate ratings, school climate ratings, and school outcomes. Before we examine possible interactions among these variables, we are first interested in their separate similarities and variations by students' race/ethnicity, class, gender, and school.

D. Results and Discussion

1. Student Background Characteristics

As planned, nearly all the students (99.5%) were with seventh and eighth grades (Table 1). Half the sample is male, and half is female. About two-thirds live with both parents, but about a fifth live with only their mothers. Relatively few have more than three brothers or three sisters living at home. Relatively few, moreover, have other people in the home; of these the 7% living with their grandmothers are the most common.

Parents' schooling ranges from those who did not finish high school to those with graduate degrees. More of the mothers than fathers finished high school only, and more fathers than mothers went to business, trade, or technical schools and obtained college and graduate degrees. Far more of the mothers were doing unskilled work (although the conventional classification of their frequent occupation as homemaker as unskilled is questionable). Nearly three-quarters of the sample indicated that the families had about as much money as other families in their school.

Table 2 shows that on average the students rated their home climates on the favorable side, that is, above 2.5 on a four-point scale, on all thirteen variables. Table 3 shows that they also rated their school favorably on average (above 8.5 on the sixteen point possible sum) on all school climate variables, although their ratings of Involvement and Influence Distribution on these scales are much lower than the average rating on the other scales.

Table 4, as mentioned earlier, shows that few students have been suspended. The average days absent from school is about twelve, but this average is deceptive because most students were absent less than five days, while a few were absent many days.

2. Home Climate

a. Race/Ethnicity Differences

Student home climate ratings for the ten major racial/ethnic groups in the sample are shown in Table 5 (p.139). Even though their numbers are few we have added Jewish and West Indian students to this list because they were included in the ethnographic study. These twelve racial/ethnic groups differ significantly in their ratings of seven home climate variables; Cohesiveness, Involvement, Ethnicity, School Learning, Out-of-School Learning, Maturity, and Dealing With Problems. In addition, Aspirations and Identity and External Relations approach significance at the .08 and .07 levels, respectively.

Overall, Greek and French students give their home climates the highest overall ratings, and British and Black students give their home climates the lowest ratings. Jewish and West Indian students show the most variation in their home climate ratings, most likely reflecting their low numbers in the survey sample.

The home climate ratings vary across the thirteen variables for each racial/ethnic group, as among racial groups for the same variables. For example, looking within the five ethnographic study groups, we find the following patterns of highest and lowest rated variables:[1]

	Rated Highest	Rated Lowest
Irish	School Learning (52) Out-Of-School Learning (52)	* Dealing With Problems (49)
Portuguese	* Ethnicity (52)	* Out-Of-School Learning (47)
Armenian	Out-Of-School Learning (53) * Ethnicity (52) * School Learning (52) * Aspirations and Identity (52)	Involvement (49) Equity and Factions (49) Structure (49)
Jewish	Maturity (59) Structure (58) * Involvement (56) Ethnicity (55) * School Learning (55)	Dealing With Problems (46) Communication (48) Equity and Factions (49) Influence (49)
West Indian	Cohesiveness (56) Involvement (56) Ethnicity (55)	Dealing With Problems (46) Structure (46)

An asterisk (*) is used to identify the variables which received similar high/low ratings in the ethnographic study of these five groups. The partial correspondence shown between the survey and ethnographic results gives a partial cross-validation of the home climate questionnaire. However, some important ethnographic characterizations of the home climates of these groups are not as prominent in the survey results.

b. Socioeconomic Class Differences

Our index of socioeconomic class is the level of education of the students' mother and father. Five class categories were used:

1. neither parent graduated from high school (N = 228);
2. one parent graduated from high school (N = 285);
3. both parents graduated from high school (N = 480);
4. one parent graduated from college (N = 135); and
5. both parents graduated from college (N = 106).

[1] Standard scores are shown; Mean = 50; Standard Deviation = 10.

Analysis of variance comparing how these five groups (total N = 1,234) rated our thirteen home climate variables indicates no significant differences among these class categories. There is high variance, but the within group variance far exceeds the between group variance. This is an important finding, in that it suggests that low, middle, and high socioeconomic class families each show a full spectrum in the nature and quality of their home life.

c. Gender Differences

Male (N = 598) and female (N = 685) students in our sample (N = 1,283) rated two of our thirteen home climate variables significantly differently. Males rated Communication and Structure higher than did females. The differences are small, however, and there is no apparent meaning or interpretation of this finding elsewhere in our data.

d. School Differences

Student ratings of their home climates show a few interesting similarities and differences according to which school they attend, as recorded in Table 6 (p.140). For example, Greek students rate home-Ethnicity consistently high across schools. Portuguese students rate home-Ethnicity high in three schools, and average in three schools. Irish students rate home-Ethnicity low in two schools, and average in four schools. School five shows the most variation in home climate ratings. From the data available to us it is impossible to tell whether these differences reflect school, community, socioeconomic class, or other differences in the sample. What is striking, however, is that the similarities far outnumber the differences. Of 780 comparisons (ten racial/ethnic groups X six schools X thirteen home climate variables) there are only 27 (4%) significant differences among racial/ethnic groups in different schools. This suggests that the home climates of particular racial/ethnic groups are overall more alike than different across the six

schools/communities in our sample.

To test this interpretation further we compared the home climate ratings of four racial/ethnic groups for whom our sample includes twenty or more students in each group attending two or more different schools. Instead of analyzing racial/ethnic differences within schools, as reported above, this time we analyzed differences among schools for the same group. The results are shown in Table 7 (p.141). Italian students in three different schools (communities) show no significant differences in their home climate ratings. Across four schools (communities) Irish students in school No. 1 rate low home-Ethnicity, where Irish students in school No. 6 rate high home-Ethnicity. For Portuguese students in two different schools (communities), those in school No. 2 rate high home-Ethnciity and low Out-Of-School Learning; those in school No. 5 show an opposite pattern, rating low home-Ethnicity and higher Out-Of-School Learning. American students (self-defined) in three different schools rate four home climate variables differently--Communication, School Learning, Out-Of-School Learning, and Aspirations and Identity.

For the four racial/ethnic groups compared here (e.g., Italian, Irish, Portuguese, and American), the similarities in how each group in different schools rates their home climates is striking. For example, of 624 comparisons (four racial/ethnic groups X twelve schools X thirteen home climate variables) there are only eight (1%) significant differences. In a previous section we referred to Table 5 (p.139) which showed many more significant differences in home climate ratings across twelve racial/ethnic groups in the total sample. Taken together, these findings appear to support the concept of distinctive home climates for particular racial/ethnic groups, but not for particular socioeconomic classes, gender groups, or schools (communities).

3. School Climate

a. Race/Ethnicity Differences

Student school climate ratings for the ten major racial/ethnic groups (plus Jewish and West Indian students in our ethnographic sample) are shown in Table 8 (p.142). These twelve racial/ethnic groups differ significantly in their ratings of six school climate variables; Community, Learning Orientation, Expressiveness, Challenge, Options, and Influence Distribution.

Overall, Greek and Armenian students rate their school climates most favorably, with Black and Portuguese students giving the least favorable ratings to their school climates. Jewish and West Indian students show the most variation in their school climate ratings, most likely reflecting their low numbers in the survey sample.

The school climate ratings vary across the thirteen variables for each racial/ethnic group, as well as among racial/ethnic groups for the same variables. For example, looking within the five ethnographic study groups, we find the following patterns of highest and lowest rated variables:

	Rated Highest	Rated Lowest
Irish	* Community (52)	Involvement (48)
Portuguese	Involvement (50)	Community (48) Learning Orientation (48)
Armenian	* Equal Treatment (53) * Learning Orientation (53)	Groupings (48)
Jewish	* Equal Treatment (65)	Community (46) * Dealing With Problems (46)
West Indian	Learning Orientation (57) * Order (56)	* Community (43)

An asterisk (*) is used to identify the variables for which the ethnographic study predicted optimal (productive) high/low ratings for these five groups.

b. Socioeconomic Class Differences

Goal Direction was rated significantly higher by the highest socioeconomic class group. The highest class group also rated Involvement, Equal Treatment, and Learning Orientation higher, with differences that approach significance at the .05 level (e.g., .09, .07, and .07, respectively).

c. Gender Differences

Male and female students rated nine of our thirteen school climate variables significantly differently. Male student ratings were lower than female student ratings for Community, Accessibility and Receptivity, Involvement, Expressiveness, Goal Direction, Dealing With Problems, Order, and Options. For Groupings, male students rated their schools higher than did female students (i.e., males perceive more student cliques in the schools).

d. School Differences

The overall mean ratings by all students in each of the six survey schools are shown in Figure 1 (p.132). Overall, school No. 4 is rated highest, with schools 3, 6, and 5 rated lowest. The differences are significant between these schools, with ratings for particular variables that range from 45-55 (on a scale with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10). These findings are consistent with other studies which show that schools vary quite widely in how their school climates are rated.

In Table 9 (p.143) high/low rated school climate variables are shown for the 10 largest racial/ethnic groups in our sample, separately by school. The pattern is quite varied, with some differences between groups within the same schools, and some differences for the same groups among schools. Of 780 comparisons (ten racial/ethnic groups X six schools X thirteen school climate variables) there are 54 (8%) significant differences between racial/ethnic groups in different schools. Although this is twice the number

of differences found in a similar analysis of home climate (see p. 68), it is a relatively small variation. Like home climate, this suggests that the school climates of particular racial/ethnic groups are overall more alike than different across the six schools/communities in our sample.

To test this interpretation further, we compared the school climate ratings of four racial/ethnic groups for whom our sample includes twenty or more students in each group attending two or more different schools. Instead of analyzing racial/ethnic differences within schools, as reported above, this time we analyzed differences among schools for the same group. The results are shown in Table 10 (p.144). Italian students in three different schools (communities) give different ratings to Community, Accessiblity and Receptivity, and Equal Treatment. Across four schools (communities) Irish students give different ratings to Accessibility and Receptivity, Equal Treatment, Learning Orientation, Goal Direction, Order, Options, and Influence Distribution. For Portuguese students in two schools, Options is rated differently. American students in three different schools give different ratings to Community, Learning Orienation, Expressiveness, and Options.

For the four racial/ethnic groups compared here (e.g., Italian, Irish, Portuguese, and American), there are eight times as many differences in their ratings of their school climates than of their home climates. Of 624 comparisons (four racial/ethnic groups X twelve schools X thirteen school climate variables) there are 51 (8%) significant differences. This finding suggests that although not quantitatively overwhelming, several important school climate differences are experienced by the same racial/ethnic groups in different schools.

4. School Outcomes

For students who completed a questionnaire we collected data

on six school outcome measures:

- . days absent (for 1980-1981);
- . days suspended (for 1980-1981);
- . standardized reading test scores, converted to z-scores (Ach-z) to make different tests comparable;
- . grade point average (GPA=course grade average for 1980-1981);
- . academic performance rated by teachers (see p.111); and
- . social performance rated by teachers (see p.112).

There are significant differences in many of these school outcome measures by student race/ethnicity, socioeconomic class, gender, and school.

a. Race/Ethnicity Differences

In Table 11 (p.145) significant outcome differences are shown for the ten largest racial/ethnic groups in our sample. With a total average of 11.7 days absent, Black students are absent most (21.0 days), and Greek (7.0 days) and Armenian (7.6 days) students are absent least. There are no significant differences among these groups in suspensions, probably due to the rarity of suspensions in these schools.

There are large differences in standardized reading achievement (z-scores). With a mean score set at zero, Black (-.31) and Portuguese (-.22) students show the lowest reading achievement; French (.61), Irish (.41), Italian (.38), and Armenian (.38) students show the highest reading achievement.

The students' grade point averages show small (but significant) differences, with Black (2.2), Portuguese (2.3), and British (2.3) students at the lower end, and Greek (2.7), French (2.6), and Italian (2.6) students at the higher end of the scale.

The teacher academic and social ratings run parallel to each other, with British (2.3, 2.3) and Portuguese (2.3, 2.2) students receiving the lowest ratings, and Greek (1.7, 1.6) and Armenian (1.9, 1.9) students receiving the highest ratings.

b. Socioeconomic Class Differences

There are no significant class differences in days absent or suspensions (see Table 11, p.145). Standardized reading achievement follows the same low-to-high pattern as low-to-high class, except for the highest class rating which matches the achievement of middle class students. Teacher academic and social ratings also parallel student class ratings, without exception.

c. Gender Differences

Male and female students vary significantly in grade point averages and teacher academic and social ratings, but not in days absent, suspensions, or standardized reading achievement (Table 11, p.145). Female students receive slightly higher grade point averages (2.5) and teacher academic (2.1) and social (1.9) ratings than do male students (2.4, 2.2, and 2.1, respectively).

d. School Differences

There are several differences in school outcomes, within and among schools, according to students' race/ethnicity, socioeconomic class, and gender. For example, in Table 12 (p.146) we identify racial ethnic socioeconomic class, and gender groups that score differently on particular school outcome measures, separately for the six schools in our sample. Each school is characterized by a distinctive profile. For example, in school No. 2 there are racial/ethnic differences in days absent and standardized reading achievement, and in teacher academic and social ratings; and gender differences in suspensions, standardized reading achievement, and in teacher

academic and social ratings. In sharp contrast, School No. 4 shows no significant differences in any of the six outcome measures, either by race/ethnicity, class, or gender. School No. 6 is interesting in its parallel ratings for Italian and Irish students: Italian students receive the highest grade point averages and highest teacher academic ratings, Irish students receive the lowest grade point averages and the lowest teacher academic ratings.

In Table 13 (p.148) we compare the school outcome measures of four racial/ethnic groups for whom our sample includes twenty or more students in each group attending two or more different schools. Italian students who attend three different schools differ significantly in days absent, suspensions, and teacher social rating. Irish students who attend four different schools differ significantly in grade point average, and in teacher academic and social rating. Portuguese students who attend two different schools differ significantly in grade point average. American students who attend three different schools differ significantly in days absent and grade point average, and they approach significant differences (at the .08 level) in standardized reading achievement.

Taken together, these findings indicate that differences in school outcomes by students' race/ethnicity, socioeconomic class, and gender vary significantly both within schools and between schools. They further indicate that the nature and extent of such variation is highly school specific--each school exhibits a unique profile or pattern of differential effects on particular racial/ethnic, class, and gender groups.

4. Interaction of Home and School Climates With School Outcomes

a. Introduction

As reported in the preceding discussion, students in our sample show significant variation by race/ethncity, socioeconomic class,

gender, and school in many of the home climate, school climate, and school outcome measures used. A major hypothesis of this study is that if we control for socioeconomic class, gender, and other student background characteristics, much of the variation in school outcomes by race/ethnicity will be accounted for (correlated with) by discrepancies between the students' ratings of their home and school climates. We further conjectured that some home-school climate discrepancies might correlate with low outcome scores (i.e., appear to depress learning and social development), whereas others might be related to high outcome scores (i.e., appear to promote learning and social development; see p. 5).

In this section we report on several rather involved and complex analyses conducted to test these and related hypotheses. To assist the reader, the following guide is given before we plunge into the details of these analyses. In Figure 2 (p.133) we diagram two possible explanations of how home and school climates might interact with (affect) school outcomes.

The "ethnic discrepancy model" represents interactions such as those discussed in the preceding paragraphs, in which home and school climate discrepancies "interact with" (affect) particular racial/ethnic groups' school outcomes (when the other variables or interactive paths are controlled for). This model represents the central hypothesis of the study.

In the "home and school climate model," separate (i.e., not interactive) home climate and school climate effects on school outcomes are predicted (with controls for student background characteristics). This model has been validated in several previous studies, including studies conducted by the principal investigators of this study. It was from such studies that we developed the ethnic discrepancy model, as a possible refinement of that more established model.

In the following analyses (partial correlation and stepwise regression), the variables were entered as indicated in the tables referred to in the text. Most of the items in Table 1 were entered separately, but a social class index was constructed for certain analyses by allocating one point for each parent who had graduated from high school and one point for each parent who had graduated from college; this scale ranges from 0 to 4. Some analyses were computed separately for each of the resulting five groups, and other analyses employed this social class variable as quantitative.

Social class and other student background characteristics shown in Table 1 can be considered unalterable variables that school staff have no power to influence. The purpose of entering such variables into the analyses is to control or partial out their influence, so that the impact of school and home climate, independent of the control variables, can be analyzed. To make the statistical control process as precise as possible in the multivariate regression analysis (i.e., to remove confounding of the background from the climate variables), all background variables were transformed to binary 0, 1 variables representing all categorical information in the background variables. As an initial example, it can be said that sex is inherently a binary variable and is coded 0 for males and 1 for females. Grade level, however, varying from sixth through ninth requires transforming the four possible values (6, 7, 8, and 9) to three binary variables. The first variable is coded 1 if the student is in sixth grade, 0 if not; the second variable is coded 1 if the student is in seventh grade, 0 if not; the third variable is coded 1 if the student is in the eight grade, 0 if not; and ninth grade status is indicated in the regression constant since a zero value on the first three variables is sufficient to identify the student as a ninth grader.

The important point of this statistical procedure is that it extracts all possible categorical information from all the background variables. In the case of grade level, for example, it takes into consideration not only the possibility that outcomes may not only be affected linearly by rising grade level but also that Grades 7 and 8 may differ from Grades 6 and 9 or that any one of the grades may differ from the other three. Thus, all such effects are controlled in the multivariate regression and partial correlation analyses.

Other analytic features are explained with the results, but the general stategy can be noted here. Since their are many variables entering the analyses, they may tend to exploit chance; five out of a hundred on average might be expected to be significant at the .05 level by chance alone. For this reason, multivariate tests in the form of multiple regressions are first run to test this possibility. Then the specific simple correlations are displayed. In several cases, simple correlations are presented even though the mutliple correlations are not significant so as not to deny readers who are interested in certain relations or who might have a priori hypotheses that they wish to test. A look at these results is thus undenied, but the multivariate problems should induce extra interpretive caution in several instances.

The key idea of the main analysis is school-home climate discrepancy. To calculate this discrepancy the home and school variables were first standardized to z-scores with a mean of zero and standard deviation of unity to place them on the same scale. Then the home climate variables were subtracted from corresponding school variables for eight of the thirteen parallel scales (see p. 60). Thus the climate discrepancies measure the degree to which the school is rated higher than the home in a normative standardized metric. The chief question of the primary analysis is depicted

in Figure 2 (p.133): "Are the relations between discrepancies and school outcomes significantly different for the ethnic groups?"

Most analyses were run separately for each ethnic group. Ethnic group is defined as the one that the student listed as his or her primary root for the ten largest groups.

b. Ethnic Discrepancy Model

Table 14 (p.149) shows that two school-home discrepancies variables--Community and Involvement--are signficiantly associated with primary roots. The discrepancies for Involvement, Equity, Learning, Problems, Structure, and Influence Distribution are not significant for ethnicity in a multivariate sense, even though all simple results for the ten largest groups are shown in Table 15 (p. I50).

For example, with respect to primary roots, Armenians more often rated their school higher than their home on Involvement and Equity. Blacks more often rated their school higher than their homes on Influence. Those who listed their primary roots as American more often rated their school higher than their home on Access and Influence. Italians more often rated their school higher than their home on Community, but lower on Involvement and Influence. Portuguese and French more often rated their school lower than their home on Community. Irish more often than others rated their school higher than their home on Community, but lower on Involvement and Learning. Greeks more often rated their school higher han their home on Learning. Irish-Italians rated their school higher than home on Community than did other groups.

Table 16 (p. 151) shows the results of multiple regressions that successively enter four sets of variables into the regression in four steps: family structure, the school-home discrepancies, the primary roots

ethnicity variables, and the interactions of ethnicity and discrepancy variables. The four multiple correlations for each school outcome show the amount of variation associated with the four successive equations.

Five of the six sets of complete multivariate results are significant, which is more attributable to the larger sample size than to the magnitude of the relationships. The first column of entries, for example, show that reading achievement is significantly associated with family structure and remains significantly associated as the discrepancies, primary roots, and interactions of discrepancies are entered in stepwise sets. The number of suspensions is the only outcome of the six that is not significantly related to the four sets of independent variables.

Before turning to the specific correlations for each ethnic group, the correlations between school-home discrepancies and school outcomes for the total sample should be considered. These are shown in Table 17 (p. 152). Of the 48 correlations of eight discrepancies and six outcomes, nineteen are significant at or beyond the .05 level. Since this number is about eight times greater than the 2.4 that might be expected by chance (.05 X 48 = 2.4), the results cannot be attributed to chance alone. Even so, the correlations are small; and the largest two in the table are .11, either of which accounts for only about one percent of the variance in the respective outcomes for the total sample.

The specific correlations in Table 17 show that students who rated their schools relatively higher than their homes on Community were less often absent from school and scored higher in reading achievement. Those who rated the schools higher than their homes on Accessibility and Receptivity were less often absent and were given higher academic and social rating by their teachers. Those who rated their schools higher than their homes on Involvement scored lower in reading achievement. Students who rated their schools

higher than their homes on Equity show less absence, and higher grade point averages, higher academic and social ratings, and higher reading achievement.

Students who rated their school higher than their home on Learning Orientation received higher social ratings. Those that rated their schools higher on Dealing With Problems had higher grade point averages.

Students who rated their schools higher than their homes on Structure were suspended less often and had higher grades, social ratings, and achievement. Those that rated their schools higher than their homes on Influence received lower grades and had lower achievement scores.

The 48 correlations of school-home discrepancies with school outcomes are shown for the ten largest ethnic groups in Tables 18 through 27 (pp.153-162). For reasons mentioned earlier, all 480 correlations are shown in the interest of comprehensiveness; but many are excluded from the subsequent discussion, namely, those that are insignificant and those that conform in sign to those noted in the immediately preceding section.

Table 18 (p. 153) shows that, for Armenian students, the school-home discrepancies in Community are more highly correlated with grade point average, academic and social ratings, and achievements for other groups. Higher school-home discrepancies in Equity are also more strongly associated with higher attendance and fewer suspensions. Higher school-home discrepancies are negatively associated with achievement for Involvement, Equity, and Structure.

For Blacks (Table 19, p. 154), higher school-home discrepancies with respect to Community are associated with higher grade point average, higher academic and social ratings, and higher achievement. Higher discrepancies in Dealing With Problems are also more highly correlated for Blacks with suspensions and achievement, and for Structure with achievement. In addition, greater discrepancies with respect to Influence are associated with fewer suspensions for this group.

For those that reported their primary roots as American (Table 20, p. 155), greater school-home discrepancies for Accessibility and Receptivity is associated with academic rating, and Involvement is associated with greater absence and ower social ratings by teachers. Greater discrepancies in Equity is associated with higher grade point average, academic and social rating, and achievement. Dealing With Problems is associated with more frequent absence and higher grade point average.

For Portuguese students (Table 21, p.156), greater discrepancy in Community is associated with higher achievement. Greater discrepancies in Accessibility and Receptivity are associated with higher less absence, and higher grade point averages, academic ratings, and achievement. Higher ratings on Learning Orienation are associated with lower achievement. Greater discrepancy with respect to Structure is associated with a higher academic rating by teachers and higher achievement.

Table 22 (p.157) shows the only correlations that significantly reverse those for the total group. For French students, higher academic ratings by teachers as associated with lower discrepancy ratings on Accessibility and Receptivity, Involvement, and Equity. In addition, higher social ratings are associated with lower discrepancies on Involvement. In the expected direction, higher discrepancy on Involvement is associated with less absence.

For the British samples (Table 25, p. 160), greater Accessibility and Receptivity discrepancies are associated with higher less absence, higher grade point average, and higher academic and social rating. Greater discrepancies with respect to Structure are associated with greater absence; and greater Influence discrepancy is associated with lower academic ratings.

For Irish students, higher Community discrepancies are associated with lower academic ratings (Table 24, p. 159). Higher discrepancy on Learning is associated with higher social ratings, and on Dealing with Problems with achievemet.

Table 25 (p. 160) shows that for Greek Students, higher discrepancy on Involvement is associated with higher suspensions.

Table 26 (p. 161) shows the results for a combined ethnic group that is among the ten largest in the sample--Irish-Italian students. Higher discrepancy on Accessibility and Receptivity, Equity, Learning, and Dealing With Problems are associated with higher grade point averages. Higher academic ratings are associated with greater discrepancies in Learning Orientation and Dealing With Problems for this group. In addition, higher academic and higher social ratings are also associated with the higher discrepancies in Learning and Dealing With Problems.

For Italian students, higher discrepancies in Community and Involvement are associated with lower achievement (Table 27, p. 162). Higher discrepancy in Learning is associated with less absence, higher grade point average, and higher social rating. Higher discrepancy in Dealing With Problems is associated with less absence and higher suspensions. For Structure, higher discrepancy is associated with higher social rating.

c. Home and School Climate Model

Figure 2 (p.133) shows a second model for examining the possible influence of home and school climates on learning and other school outcomes. Instead of focusing on ethnicity, the model assumes that certain school and home climate variables are conducive of school outcomes for all groups, controlled for family background. This assumption may be considered more scientifically parsimonious and educationally practical than the first, since it would depend on general social-psychological laws of learning that extend across groups and that could be efficiently applicable to all groups rather than requiring special programs for each group. Prior research on school climates in Australia, Canada, India, and the United States suggests that such is likely to be the case (Haertel, Walberg, and Haertel, 1981). Such variables as Goal Direction, Satisfaction, and Cohesiveness are consistently correlated positively with learning outcomes, and Disorganization, Cliques, and Friction are consistently negatively correlated with learning across a great number of conditions and types of students.

Table 28 (p.163) shows that the background variables, home climate, and school climate yield statistically significant multiple correlations with five of the six school outcomes: Reading Achievement, Absence, Suspensions, Teacher Academic Rating, and Teacher Social Rating. The climate variables as a set, however, are not significantly correlated with Grade Point Average.

The multiple correlations as a set are lower than have been found in previous studies. The lower correlations may be attributable to three factors. Most past work on learning correlations has employed the classroom climate rather than school climate as the unit of analysis, on the assumption that the student is likely to encounter both stimulating and unstimulating classes within the same school. This research has specifically associated the climate of a class in a subject with achievement scores in the subject. The present study, in contrast, associates general school climate with a general index of achievement, which may show an undifferentiated and attenuated influence.

The second factor is the grade level of the students. Seventh and eighth graders do not have as much perspective on school climate as have high school students who have had more teachers and who have attended more schools, namely elementary, and in many cases, junior or middle schools.

The third factor, mentioned earlier, is the low to moderate internal consistencies of the school and home climate measures. It was noted in a previous section that a deliberate choice was made to measure more variables with low to moderate reliability rather than few with high reliability.

Notwithstanding these problems, many of the correlations in Tables 29 (p.164) and 30 (p.165) are statistically significant at conventional levels (.05 and .01) even when controlled for the family background variables as well as one another. Even though small, the correlations are in plausible directions that bear out previous research, and are considerably larger on average than those for the ethnic discrepancy model.

Table 29 for example, shows that the significant simple and more fully controlled partial correlations of school climate and reading test achievement, are positive for Community, Equal Treatment, Expressiveness,

Goal Direction, Challenge, Dealing With Problems, and Order, and negative for Influence Distribution. Several of these school climate variables correspond in general meaning to classroom climate variables that past research shows to be consistently positive and significant learning correlates, namely Cohesiveness, Satisfaction, Task Difficulty, Formality, Goal Direction, and Democracy. The others generally correspond to those that previous research shows to be negative correlates, namely, Friction, Cliqueness, Apathy, Disorganization, and Favoritism. It should be emphasized, of course, that these correlations, though significant, plausible, and consistent with past research, are relatively small.

One home and school climate variable--Influence Distribution--has not been investigated in past studies; and it is negatively associated with reading achievement. The greater the level of student Influence, the lower the level of reading achievement.

Absence is correlated negatively with Community, Involvement, Goal Direction, Challenge, Dealing With Problems, and Order. Suspension is correlated negatively with Community, Involvement, Learning Orientation, Challenge, Order, and Influence, but positively with Grouping (in the sense of cliques and factions). These patterns suggest that suspended and absence-prone students find the school climate alienating.

Grade point average is not significantly correlated with school climate. Perhaps variation in grading standards across schools explains this finding.

Both academic and social ratings, however, are significantly correlated with similar patterns of school climate variables: Community, Accessibility and Receptivity, Involvement, Equal Treatment, Learning, Expressiveness, Goal Direction, Challenge, Problems, Order, and, only in the case

of teacher social ratings, Influence Distribution. This pattern of correlations is similar to that of reading achievement, and to generally corresponding variables in previous research.

The highest partial correlations of reading achievement are among the home climate variables Aspirations and Maturity (Table 30, p.165). Students who perceive their homes as encouraging these traits tend to score higher on reading achievement tests. Encouragement of non-school learning in the home is also positively correlated with reading achievement. High Cohesiveness in the home, however, is negatively associated with reading achievement.

A lack of emphasis on School and Out-Of-School Learning in the home is associated with both absence and suspensions. Aspiration emphasis in the home is positively correlated with grade point average. The teacher academic and social ratings are generally correlated significantly with similar sets of variables: Cohesiveness, Out-Of-School Learning, Aspirations, and Influence Distribution. In addition, School Learning and Maturity are significantly associated with teacher academic rating, and Equity is significantly associated with teacher social rating.

One question that can be raised about the results in this section concerns the generalizability of the results across the various ethnic groups. In view of this possibility the partial correlations of school climate with school outcomes both controlled for home climate and family background were computed. Those that are significant at the .05 level for any ethnic group and that reverse the correlation or that are not significant for the total sample are noted in this section. These partial correlations indicate variables that seem to especially enhance or detract from school outcomes.

For Armenians, the partial correlation of school Goal Direction was -.56 with the academic rating by teachers. School Goal Direction is

also partially correlated -.52 with the social rating by teachers.

For Blacks, school Challenge and Learning Orienation are partially correlated .34 each with grade point average. Home Communication and Involvement are correlated .38 and .33 respectively with social rating by teachers.

For students who listed their primary roots as American, home Maturity and attendance are correlated .23 and home Aspirations and suspensions are correlated -.23. Also, for this group, school Involvement is correlated -.25 with suspensions, and Equal Treatment is correlated .31 with grade point average.

For Italians, home Communication and Involvement are correlated -.20 and -.21 with suspensions. Home Involvement is correlated .37 with achievement; and school Equal Treatment, Learning Orientation, and Goal Direction are correlated respectively .21, .27, and .26 with grade point average.

Two partial correlations stand out significantly for Portuguese. School Community and Expressiveness are correlated respectively .27 and .29 with grade point average.

For French students, home Influence is correlated .45 with absences. School Options and Dealing With Problems, moreover, are correlated -.39 and .38 with grade point average for this group.

Only one correlation is outstanding for British students. Home External Relations and absences are correlated .33.

One partial correlation stands out among the Irish sample. School Accessibility and Receptivity and suspensions are correlated .21.

For Greeks, school Equity and suspensions are correlated -.80. In addition, home Involvement and suspensions are correlated -.74 and .78, respectively, with suspensions and grade point average.

No partial correlations are outstanding for Irish-Italian students.

E. Summary and Interpretation

1. Differential Student Experiences

Students in the ten largest groups in the sample vary significantly in most of the school outcome measures used--by race/ethnicity, class, and gender groups, with the widest differences showing up in reading achievement. By race/ethnicity, students differ in days absent, reading achievement levels, grade point averages, and teacher academic and social ratings (but not by suspensions). By socioeconomic class, they differ in reading achievement, grade point averages, and teacher academic and social ratings (but not in days absent or suspensions). There are fewer differences by gender, such as in grade point averages, and teacher academic and social ratings (but not in absences, suspensions, or reading achievement). For class and gender the differences correspond to those found in prior research, with class and outcome levels running parallel, and with girls doing better than boys in teacher grades and teacher ratings.

The variation in school outcomes by race/ethnicity is of particular interest in this study regarding equity in multicultural schooling. For the ten largest groups, Black and Portuguese students show the lowest school outcomes, with French, Greek, Irish, and Armenian students placing at the higher school outcome levels. However, before jumping to conclusions about particular groups, it is important to note that many of the school outcome levels for particular racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups also vary significantly by school. Within certain schools there is wide variation in school outcome levels by race/ethnicity (and class and gender), where in other schools there are few or no differences in school outcome levels. Also, among different schools attended by the same racial/ethnic groups, school outcome levels vary for the same groups.

These results are highly school specific, with each school showing a unique profile or pattern of differential effects on particular racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups. They do suggest, however, that for school outcomes, school differences are more pronounced than differences by student racial/ethnic, class, or gender group.

Students in the ten largest groups also vary significantly in how they rate seven of thirteen home climate variables, and six of thirteen school climate variables. As with school outcomes, there are unique within-group and between-group differences. However, while particular racial/ethnic groups rate their homes quite similarly across schools, they more frequently rate their schools differently across schools. But again, each school shows a unique profile or pattern of ratings for particular racial/ethnic groups. Regarding the home climate ratings by class and gender, within group differences overshadow between group differences, suggesting that families show a full spectrum in the nature and quality of their home life regardless of socioeconomic class group and gender.

The most striking overall finding in these results is that school differences overshadow student racial/ethnic, class, and gender differences in school outcome levels and school climate ratings. This is both good news and bad news. It is good news because schools can measure and improve (alter) their school climates for all groups, while they have little or no influence over the racial/ethnic, class, or gender mix of their student bodies, or over their students' home climates. It is bad news because it confirms that schools vary considerably in the levels of equity/inequity which they provide to students of varying backgrounds, as found in prior research.

2. Ethnic Discrepancy Model

Though significant, the many home-school discrepancies and sub-group school-outcome correlates found in this study are modest and varied, showing few meaningful patterns for any particular sub-group across schools. However, they do tend to support the notion that certain home-school discrepancies appear to work against learning and social development, while other home-school discrepancies appear to promote learning and social development. For example, a tally across home-school discrepancy/school outcome correlates (Tables 18-29, pp. 153-164) shows that for the ten largest racial/ethnic groups, 47 of 64 (73%) of the home school discrepancies found correlate with positive school outcomes (e.g., lower absence, higher achievement), when the school is rated higher than the home. For the remaining 17 of 64 (27%) home-school discrepancies, negative school outcomes emerge (e.g., higher absence, lower achievement) when the school is rated higher than the home. This suggests that for all groups a higher-school-than-home climate stimulates learning and social development in most cases, and that in general schools should continually strive to improve their climates for all students.

However, the preceding also suggests that for particular sub-groups, certain higher-school-than-home climate factors may work against learning and social development. In these cases schools should carefully investigate such possibilities, and work with individuals and sub-groups according to their particular needs as they come to be better understood. For example, Involvement and Influence are the two home-school variables most frequently associated with negative effects on outcomes, when the school is rated higher than the home. Thus, for some students with low home Involvement and Influence, special assistance may be required for them to respond positively

to higher levels of Involvement and Influence at school.

Taken as a whole this data gives modest support to what we call an ethnic discrepancy model, but the paradigm requires further empirical confirmation before more definitive school (or home) implications are drawn.

3. Home and School Climate Model

The data gives more support to what we call a home and school climate model. Taken as a whole the survey data suggests that both the school and home climate variables can independently have positive influences on school outcomes for all students. With respect to school climate, higher levels of perceived Community, Equal Treatment, Learning Orientation, Expressiveness, Goal Direction, Challenge, Problem Solving, and Order are generally and significantly associated with favorable educational consequences. With respect to home climate, higher levels of perceived emphasis on Out-of-School Learning, Aspirations, Identity, and Maturity are associated with favorable school outcomes. This data suggests that general improvements in both home and school climates for all children, rather than special treatment for separate sub-groups, are more justifiable.

The statistical significance and magnitude of the results are higher for the independent home and school effects than they are for the ethnic discrepancy effects. However, the home and school effect correlates are lower than found in previous research probably because, as discussed earlier, the students are younger than those in previous samples and thus have a more narrow frame of reference since they know less about other schools and families. In addition, the climate of particular classes is more closely associated with learning than is the general school climate, since students may encounter both good and poor classes within a school. Lastly, the validity of many of the scales was reduced by the need to limit the number of items on

each scale to keep the questionnaire length to a reasonable time for administration and still investigate a large number of background and climate variables.

These results, nonetheless, are interesting and important because they confirm, and are buttressed by, a large body of research on school and home climates that show positive influences of both environments on cognitive, affective, and behavior learning of all students. When the data are examined separately for each of the six survey schools, however, some differential school effects emerge for students according to their race/ethnicity, socioeconomic class, and gender. Variations by race/ethnicity, class, and gender in students' school climate ratings and their school outcome scores, both within and between schools, are striking. The patterns are highly school specific with certain groups favored in some schools but not in other schools.

Such differential school effects suggest a need to modify our simple home and school climate model. This possibility is discussed in the following section in which we reexamine the survey data, in light of the results of the ethnographic component discussed in the preceding section. It is to this "data synthesis" and our final conclusions and recommendations that we now turn.

IV. OVERALL SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

A. Summary of Findings

As stated in the Introduction, this study is concerned with more effective multicultural schooling--with improvements in teaching, learning, and social development in schools which serve students from varying racial/ethnic and national origin backgrounds. Dozens of studies have documented continuing inequities in educational opportunity and educational attainment, particularly for many racial/ethnic minority students who attend "mainstream" American schools.

Some of these studies have drawn upon home and neighborhood socio-cultural differences to explain such differential school success. However, there is a common bias in this literature which assumes that such student-environment differences are inherently counterproductive to student learning and social development. In this study we investigate the home "climates" and school "climates" of several racial/ethnic, socioeconomic class, and gender groups. The central idea behind the study is that certain incongruities (differences) and certain congruities (similarities) between the home and the school may actually stimulate learning, where other home-school incongruities and congruities may work against learning.

In the ethnographic component of the study, which came first, our focus was on the home climates of five racial/ethnic groups. For each group the adolescents (and parents) studied in each community were found to perceive their home climates in similar ways. In addition, their (modal) perceptions of our thirteen home climate variables differ dramatically and systematically for each particular group. Given such sharp differences in home climates, we proceeded to predict how certain groups would rate their home climates in the survey, and the degree of variation in school outcome levels

for the questionnaire survey sample; we speculated on the optimal school climates for each group.

Racial/ethnic group differences in home climate perceptions were found in the questionnaire survey results for seven of thirteen variables (with two more variables approaching significance). Though significant and confirming, these differences are less dramatic than those found in the ethnographic component. Similarly, there is correspondence between the (ethnographic) predicted and (survey) home climate ratings in only one-third of the cases where the group/variable samples coincide. These disparities are understandable given the limitations of the four-item-per-variable scales used in the survey, compared to the extensive description and interpretation possible (given) in the ethnographies. However, the survey results also indicate that students of the same racial/ethnic group who attend different schools in different communities show a fairly consistent pattern in how they characterize their home climates. Despite some variations within groups, this data suggests that students who identify themselves with a particular racial/ethnic group, in terms of their "primary roots", share in a common "ethnic character" of their homes.

The same cannot be said for the home climates of different socio-economic class and gender groups. By class and gender there is much more within group variation than between group variation. This suggests that families of all socioeconomic class levels show a full spectrum in the nature and quality of their home life, and that the modal home experiences of male and female adolescents are more alike than different.

The prediction from the ethnographies of racial/ethnic group differences in school outcome levels is also confirmed by the questionnaire survey results. For the ten largest groups there are significant differences

in days absent, (standardized) reading achievement, grade point averages, and teacher academic and social ratings (but not in suspensions). However, many of the school outcome levels of particular groups vary significantly, as do their school climate ratings, according to which school they attend. In addition, students of the same racial/ethnic group who attend different schools vary significantly in certain outcome levels, and in their ratings of their school climate. Such school differences actually overshadow student racial/ethnic (and socioeconomic class and gender) differences in school outcome levels and school climate ratings.

In analyzing relationships between the (survey) home and school climate ratings and school outcome levels, the statistical significance and magnitude of the correlations are highest for independent home and school effects on school outcomes. However, the results also show some home-school climate discrepancies correlated with certain school outcome levels for the ten largest racial/ethnic groups in the sample. For example, the highest correlation (.60**, or 36% of the variance) indicates that for Armenian students, significantly higher school Community than home Community is related to higher reading achievement (see Table 18, p. 153). Actually of the 64 home/school discrepancies found to significantly correlate with school outcomes, 47 (73%) are related to positive school outcomes (e.g., lower absence, higher achievement), when the school is rated higher than the home. For the remaining 17 (of 64, or 27%), negative school outcomes emerge (e.g., higher absence, lower achievement) where the school is rated higher than the home.

B. Conclusions and Implications Drawn

To summarize, the major conclusions of the study are:

1. Inequity in school outcomes is confirmed: There are significant differences between racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups in the sample in days absent, (standardized) reading achievement, grade point averages, and teacher academic and social ratings (but not in suspensions).

2. Some schools are more equitable than other schools: Many of the school outcome levels of particular racial/ethnic (and class and gender) groups vary significantly, as do their ratings of their school climates, according to which school they attend.

3. Schools vary more than homes: Adolescents who identify with particular racial/ethnic groups describe their home climates with striking similarity, yet markedly differently from other racial/ethnic groups. In contrast, students from the same racial/ethnic groups who attend different schools in different communities, characterize their school climates quite differently. By socioeconomic class and gender groups, students' ratings of their school climates vary much more than their ratings of their home climates.

4. Schools and homes both affect school outcomes: The statistical significance and magnitude of the correlations are highest for independent home-climate and school-climate effects on school outcomes for all students, irrespective of racial/ethnic, socioeconomic class, or gender groups.

5. Home-school discrepancies affect school outcomes: For particular racial/ethnic groups who rate their school climates higher than their home climates on specific variables, such "discrepancies" are correlated with positive school outcomes (e.g., lower absence and higher achievement) in 73% of such cases. For the remaining 27% of similar discrepancies, negative school outcomes emerge (e.g., higher absence, lower achievement) where the school is rated higher than the home. Though significant, these correlates are modest and varied, showing few meaningful patterns for any particular sub-group across schools.

Conclusions 1, 2, and 4 are the least surprising to us, as they confirm prior research and our experience in working with schools on school and racial/ethnic climate improvement. Conclusion 3 is somewhat surprising in the sharply distinctive "ethnic character" of home climates depicted by particular racial/ethnic groups; the sharp contrasts which characterize the home climates of different racial/ethnic groups; and the large within group variation which suggests that a full range of home-life quality is experienced by adolescents across socioeconomic class and gender groups.

Our biggest surprise is in Conclusion 5, for which our data is least certain, but more tantalizing. We did expect to find home-school discrepancy effects on school outcomes, and even though we challenged a common bias which assumes that all such discrepancies are inherently counter-productive, we are surprised at the direction and extent of positive discrepancy effects which we found. To repeat, in approximately three-fourths of the cases where the school is rated higher than the home on particular variables, such discrepancies are significantly correlated with positive school outcomes.

This suggests that if school climate levels are kept high on all dimenions, students from home climates with less Challenge, less Structure, less Cohesiveness, etc., may actually be stimulated by such discrepancies in most cases to higher levels of learning and social development--regardless of racial/ethnic, socioeconomic class, or gender group. At the same time, however, schools must be sensitive to the possibility that for particular groups, higher school-than-home climates on particular variables may work against learning and social development. An example given in the preceding section concerns students from homes with low Involvement and low Influence who may need special assistance/counseling in responding positively to a school environment of high student Involvement and Influence.

Given the absence of clear patterns by particular racial/ethnic (or class or gender) groups in either the number or direction of such home-school discrepancy effects, we wonder if distinctive patterns might emerge if studied in specific schools. We did find differential school effects in school outcomes and school climate according to students' race/ethnicity, class, and gender. Thus, it may be reasonable to expect similar, school-specific patterns in home-school discrepancy effects for particular racial/ethnic,

class, and gender groups. Unfortunately, our samples of students matched by background, home climate, school climate, and school outcome data are too small for such a school-by-school analysis by specific sub-groups.

Limitations, qualifications, and speculations aside, even a conservative interpretation of the study results, which confirm prior research, suggests that general school climate improvement should benefit most students irrespective of their backgrounds. The same can be said of home climate improvement, but as we stated at the outset our focus as interventionists is on improving multicultural schooling. We leave home intervention to those more familiar and comfortable with such an undertaking, and the issues involved.

We do advocate, however, that while schools strive to improve their climates for all students, that they sharpen their scrutiny of possible home-school discrepancies which may inhibit learning and social development for particular students. Such scrutiny can begin with the school staffs' experiences and insights, or it can begin with a student survey similar to that given in this study. In our experience the student survey is a preferred beginning because the data it can produce stands a better chance of penetrating the veils of myth and taboo which often shroud possible sub-group inequities in schools--they are often denied, but seldom discussed.

The simplest student survey for getting at general school climate improvement, and to investigate possible sub-group inequities, would consist of the School Climate Questionnaire, plus questions on student background, such as race/ethnicity, socioeconomic class and gender items. In the analysis, the overall student ratings for the thirteen school climate variables would be broken down by these student background characteristics. Similarly, important school outcome measures such as absences, suspensions, achievement

test scores, grade point averages, etc., would also be broken down by the same student background characteristics.

By inspection, relatively low school outcome levels and school climate ratings for certain racial/ethnic, class, or gender groups can be readily identified, where they exist. If such inequities are found, the next step beyond general school climate improvement (when warranted from the data) would be a second-level investigation based primarily on experience and insight. To broaden such scrutiny and to insure follow-up action we advocate the use of one or more (10-15 member) student-staff-parent improvement team(s), to manage the entire process.

For example, suppose that a student-staff-parent improvement team administered such a student school-climate/school-outcome survey in a school, and found that of ten racial/ethnic groups which comprise the student body, two groups systematically showed the lowest school outcome levels and school climate ratings. Viewing this as inequity of attainment and satisfaction, the next issue to be addressed is possible inequity of opportunity for these two groups. In the absence of any precise methodology from this or other studies (e.g., ethnic discrepancy analysis of the survey results with home climate ratings), this further investigation can proceed in discussions between the team and (student, parent, other) representatives of the sub-groups in question. If skillfully managed, such discussions can proceed through typical stages such as venting frustrations, circular blaming, denial, and rationalization--to mutual problem-solving. From here, the course of events will be highly site-specific, ranging from effective to ineffective diagnosis/action.

At this point in this report we are edging up to a transition from the study findings, conclusions, and implications to a recommended

process of school intervention. This takes us to Volume III of the study, "A Practitioners' Guide for Achieving Equity in Multicultural Schools." In the Guide we summarize the study findings, and we present the details of the step-by-step process which we began to describe in general terms above. For those who wish to delve further into the implications of the study findings for (multicultural) school improvement, we urge you pick up from here with Volume III.

For those with research interests, we encourage attempts to replicate and refine the study as suggested herein. To assist in further investigation, and to repeat our interpretative cautions, in the following section we discuss methodological limitations and issues of this study.

V. METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS AND ISSUES

Overall, we found a one-third level of correspondence between the ethnographic findings and predictions, and the questionnaire results--not a very impressive batting average. Also, while finding some provocative relationships among home-school climate discrepancies and school outcomes in the survey, no systematic patterns emerged for particular racial/ethnic, class, or gender groups, as we expected. We suggest the following possible reasons for such disparities:

1. The students who participated in the quantitative study self-labeled themselves with respect to ethnic group membership; students in the qualitative component went through a much more refined process of assignment to ethnic groups. It is possible that many children allocated as the result of their answers to a few questions would be differently classified by fieldworkers who knew more details of the youngsters' family histories.

2. "Home climate" may be very crudely measured by the Home Climate Questionnaire (HCQ), despite the impressive reliability statistics obtained for the instrument in pilot tests. The HCQ was devised by the qualitative field staff, yet it is possible that the same workers deviated from HCQ definitions of variables in writing their ethnographic reports.

3. School "outcome variables" were undeniably roughly measured, since the project did not administer the same tests in all six of the cooperating schools. Outcome measures derive from ratings by individual teachers, the school's own testing programs, and grade point averages that reflect differing standards and conventions from school to school.

4. In the survey our procedure for determining home-school climate discrepancies was first to normalize all scales, then to subtract the home climate ratings from the school climate ratings for individual students. While reasonably parallel, the eight common home climate and school climate scales are not identical. This rather crude methodology may simply have obscured or otherwise distorted relationships left undetected, or may have generated spurious correlations which render our interpretations questionable.

The inter-ethnic contrasts in the qualitative data that so impress us may be explained other than as demonstrations of ethnic group differences:

1. The field staff may have been ideologically committed to "finding" ethnic specializations and contrasts. There is no doubt that each field team wanted to present its group as a functioning and rational sub-culture in its own right, and that regular staff meetings permitted limited exchange of information about the communities among the fieldworkers. However, these meetings dealt mostly with field procedures and theoretical issues; what each team was discovering was seldom shared, to most members' dismay. Almost all of the field teams' data analysis, writing, and editing was done in isolation from each other. It is hard to imagine how the results could have been deliberately or even unintentionally tailored to contrast with each other.

2. What are proposed as inter-ethnic contrasts may actually be social class differences which our crude survey questions obscured. Many U.S. studies comparing class and ethnicity find the former to be more powerful, and certainly the families we studied are not immune from such effects. Nonetheless, among the given ethnic groups studied, those of similar socioeconomic status contrast strongly in terms of their reported impressions of family functioning. For example, most of the Portuguese and West Indian families are economically pressed, and the adults share similarly low levels of education, yet household dynamics and attitudes towards education differ considerably between the two. Similarly, the Irish and Armenian families are mostly lower middle class, yet their reported home environments and expectations of school contrast markedly.

3. The families in several of the groups, especially the Armenian and Portuguese, and to a less extent the West Indian, are relatively recent immigrants to the U.S. It is reasonable to propose that certain of the home climate differences we report may be due to generation of arrival here. The ethnographies show that aspects of the perceived home climates of each of these three groups are related to their newcomer status, but also that the three climates themselves are singularly different. Additionally, the Irish and the Jewish families, almost all composed of second and third generation parents and their children, are also very different from each other.

We conclude, therefore, that inter-ethnic differences in perceptions of home climate exist, and that more convincing quantitative documentation of such contrasts awaits subsequent and more sophisticated research efforts.

Some readers undoubtedly will be offended that in this research, in which we discuss the youngsters not as individuals with specific strengths

and needs, but as members of ethnic groups. The school must work with each child as a person, such critics maintain, not as the embodiment of purported tendencies that he/she shares with others of approximately the same background. Dealing with children as members of ethnic groups is a form of stereotyping, no matter how benignly intended, they maintain.

To these anticipated criticisms we reply, first, that this and most prior research documents inequities in the educational attainment of students according to their racial/ethnic, socioeconomic class, and gender backgrounds. Such differential school effects warrant continued investigation that will help explain such inequity, and how to reduce it. Second, and as stated earlier, we assume that children in all ethnic groups encounter patterns in their environments related to their group membership, yet simultaneously conform to general "laws" of development that affect all growing humans; therefore, they are likely to perceive and perform in school to some extent in accord with their ethnic experiences.

Third, we believe that a knowledge of documented ethnic differences may help educators gain reliable first-order approximations of the likely needs, skills, and characteristics of children from specific ethnic backgrounds, from which they can move to more precise formulations of appropriate programs for the youngsters as individuals; this contrasts with current tendencies to deal with ethnicity via stereotypes, or by pretending that it is irrelevant. Fourth, we believe that knowledge of ethnic differences by "outside" professionals, such as educators, is not inevitably destructive or degrading to members of specific groups, as critics of studies of ethnicity seem to imply; a teacher can use his/her knowledge of students' "roots" to help these students understand and build upon their heritages, for example. Finally, we reject the notion that research on any topic

should be banned for ideological reasons, unless a proposed inquiry can be shown as likely to harm the sample or total population of persons on which it is focused. We believe that the present project harbors no such dangers.

Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire; As Administered To Students

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

- The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out how students' schools and homes affect their education.
- This is a questionnaire. It is not a test. There are no correct answers. It is important that you give your own honest opinions to the questions.
- We do not ask for your name so that your answers will be confidential.
- You should be able to complete the questionnaire easily before the end of this class period. There is no need to hurry.
- Read the directions before you start to answer the questions.

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SECTION I

In this section we are asking questions about you.

Remember: We do not have your name, so your answers are private.

DIRECTIONS

1. For each question, circle the number next to the best answer and write a short answer in the space provided, if asked.

2. For example, if the question were:

   What kind of school are you in this year?

   1. Elementary
   2. Middle School or Junior High School
   3. High School

   You would circle the number "2", for middle school or junior high school.

3. Circle only one number for each question.

4. Please answer thoughtfully and honestly.

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1. What grade are you in this year?

   1. Sixth grade
   2. Seventh grade
   3. Eighth grade
   4. Ninth grade

2. Are you a male (boy) or a female (girl)?

   1. Male
   2. Female

3. Do you now live with your parents?

   1. I live with my own mother and father.
   2. I live with my mother and stepfather.
   3. I live with my mother only.
   4. I live with my father and stepmother.
   5. I live with my father only.
   6. I live with guardians who are not my father or mother.

4. Do you have brothers who live at your house now? (If they are in college, count them as living at your house.)

   1. None
   2. One brother
   3. Two brothers
   4. Three brothers
   5. Four or more brothers

5. Do you have sisters who live at your house now? (If they are in college, count them as living at your house.)

   1. No sisters
   2. One sister
   3. Two sisters
   4. Three sisters
   5. Four or more sisters

6. Not including your brother(s), sister(s), and yourself, are there any other children who live at your house now?

   1. None
   2. One other child
   3. Two other children
   4. Three other children
   5. Four or more other children

7. Do any other people live with your family in addition to your parents or guardians, brother(s), sister(s), other children, and you? (Do not count tenants.)

   1. No, no one else lives at my house now.
   2. Yes, these other people live at my house now:
      They are: a. Cousin
      b. Grandfather
      c. Grandmother
      d. Aunt
      e. Uncle
      f. Friends
      g. Others (name them) _____

What do you think is the highest level of schooling completed by your parents or guardians? If you are not sure, make your best guess.

	8. Father or Male Guardian (circle one number)	9. Mother or Female Guardian (circle one number)
Did not finish high school	1	1
Finished high school	2	2
Business, trade, or technical school	3	3
Some college but did not graduate	4	4
Graduated from college	5	5
More study after college but did not finish	6	6
Received advanced degree for graduate study	7	7

Which of the following names comes closest to describing the work that your parents or guardians do? If you are not sure, make your best guess. If retired, or out of work, what did they used to do?

	10. Father or Male Guardian (circle one number)	11. Mother or Female Guardian (circle one number)
Unskilled Worker, (such as laborer, house cleaner, homemaker, orderly, kitchen worker)	1	1
Semiskilled Worker (such as, machine operator, assembler, garment worker, driver)	2	2
Service Worker (such as, police, fire-fighter, hair dresser, school aide, waiter, waitress)	3	3
Skilled Worker or Craftsman (such as, carpenter, electrician, plumber, jeweler, technician)	4	4
Salesperson, bookkeeper, secretary, office worker, computer operator	5	5
Owner, manager, or partner of a small business, lower-level governmental official	6	6
Professional requiring a college degree (such as, engineer, elementary or secondary teacher, social worker, registered nurse)	7	7
Owner, or high-level executive in a large business or high-level government agency	8	8
Professional requiring an advanced college degree (such as, doctor, lawyer, college professor)	9	9

12. Describe in a few words the kind of work your father or male guardian does. (For example, machinist in a factory, house painter for a contractor, runs his own insurance agency, high school teacher, etc.) If not doing this kind of work now, describe the kind of work he did last.

_____

_____

13. Describe in a few words the kind of work your mother or female guardian does. (For example, salesperson at a department store, nurse in a hospital, housewife, runs her own bookkeeping service for businessmen, etc.) If not doing this kind of work now, describe the kind of work she did last.

_____

_____

14. How much money does your family have, compared to the families of other students in this school?

    1. More money
    2. The same money
    3. Less money

15. What kind of marks do you get in school?

    1. Mostly A's and B's
    2. Mostly B's and C's
    3. Mostly C's and D's
    4. Mostly D's and F's

16. Thinking about your classes this year, at what level do you think the school has placed you in your grade?

    1. I am with above average students in most of my classes.
    2. I am with average students in most of my classes.
    3. I am with below average students in most of my classes.

17. Here are descriptions of students "who do well in school work," and students "who do poorly in school work." Read both of them carefully, and then decide which of them best describes you, in your own opinion.

The student who does well in school work is proud of what he or she achieves there. He or she learns as much as possible, is interested in many school subjects and activities, and completes school work thoughtfully and completely without reminders. In class, this student takes part in discussions and cooperates with the teachers and other students.

The student who does poorly in school work is not very proud of what he or she achieves. He or she learns much less than could be expected, with the natural ability he or she has. This student is uninterested in most school subjects and activities, and must be reminded by teachers to complete school work. In class, this student may not pay attention and may be afraid to speak up.

In my opinion:

1. I am very much like the student who does well in school work.
2. I am a little bit like the student who does well in school work.
3. I am a little bit like the student who does poorly in school work.
4. I am very much like the student who does poorly in school work.

18. Generally, how do you think your teachers in this school think of you?

1. My teachers think I am very much like the student who does well in school work.
2. My teachers think I am a little bit like the student who does well in school work.
3. My teachers think I am a little bit like the student who does poorly in school work.
4. My teachers think I am very much like the student who does poorly in school work.

19. Here are descriptions of students "who get along well in school" and students "who get along poorly in school." Read both of them carefully, and then decide which of them best describes you, in your own opinion.

The student who gets along well in school likes school and is usually well-behaved. He or she is liked by most of the other students in the school, and some of them are his or her good friends. He or she has many interests outside of school, and as a person is self-confident, reliable and honest.

The student who gets along poorly in school finds school an unpleasant place to be, both in the classroom and with the other students, and he or she may often get in trouble. He or she may have a few friends among the other students, but he or she is not generally well-liked. This student has few interests outside of school and really does not think very much of himself/herself.

In my opinion:

1. I am very much like the student who gets along well in school.
2. I am a little bit like the student who gets along well in school.
3. I am a little bit like the student who gets along poorly in school.
4. I am very much like the student who gets along poorly in school.

20. Generally, how do you think your teachers in this school think of you?

1. My teachers think I am very much like the student who gets along well in schoo
2. My teachers think I am a little bit like the student who gets along well in school.
3. My teachers think I am a little bit like the student who gets along poorly in school.
4. My teachers think I am very much like the student who gets along poorly in school.

. The ancestors of almost all people in the United States lived in other countries, and many of them spoke some other language than English.

21. What language or languages did your father's ancestors speak?

_____

22. What language or languages did your mother's ancestors speak?

_____

23. What languages are spoken in your home today?

1. Only English is spoken in my home.
2. English and the following language(s) are spoken in my home: _____

_____

24. What languages, other than English, can you speak?

_____

25. Where was your mother living when you were born?

1. In the town or city I live in now. (Name it _____)
2. In another town or city in Massachusetts. (Name it _____)
3. In another state or territory of the United States. (Name it _____)
4. In another country outside the United States. (Name it _____)

26. Where do you think your father was born?

1. In the town or city I live in now. (Name it _____)
2. In another town or city in Massachusetts. (Name it _____)
3. In another state or territory of the United States. (Name it _____)
4. In another country outside the United States (Name it _____)

27. Where do you think your mother was born?

1. In the town or city I live in now. (Name it _____)
2. In another town or city in Massachusetts. (Name it _____)
3. In another state or territory of the United States. (Name it _____)
4. In another country outside the United States. (Name it _____)

28. Where do you think your father's parents were born?

1. In the United States (name the places, if you can: _____)
_____)

2. In another country (name the country, if you can: _____)
_____)

29. Where do you think your mother's parents were born?

1. In the United States (name the places, if you can: _____)
_____)

2. In another country (name the country, if you can: _____)
_____)

30. What do you think best describes your family's "roots?" That is, what is your family's origin or background? (For example, Swedish, Puerto Rican, Polish, Black or African, etc.)

My family's "roots" are: _____

31. How do you think your father would describe his "roots?"

He would say his "roots" are: _____

32. How do you think your mother would describe her "roots?"

She would say her "roots" are: _____

33. If I had to describe my own roots, I would say that I am mostly:

_____

SECTION II

- The purpose of this section of the questionnaire is to find out how you feel about your school.
- Again, your answers are confidential, so give us your own thoughtful, honest answers.

DIRECTIONS

For each statement go through the following steps:

1. Think about how well the statement describes your school.
2. Circle one number for each statement according to the following instructions:

   Circle 1 If you strongly disagree with the statement.

   Circle 2 If you disagree with the statement.

   Circle 3 If you agree with the statement.

   Circle 4 If you strongly agree with the statement.

3. For example, if the statement were:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
. Students in this school are friendly.	1	2	3	4

You would circle the number "1" if you "strongly disagree" with that statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Students would rather be in this school than in any other school.	1	2	3	4
2. Students can get good advice in this school when they need it.	1	2	3	4
3. On most days students look forward to their classes.	1	2	3	4
4. Students here get the marks they earn.	1	2	3	4
5. Students feel left out if they're not part of a group in this school.	1	2	3	4
6. Learning is more important than marks in this school.	1	2	3	4
7. Students are encouraged to discuss their own ideas freely in classes.	1	2	3	4
8. No one really knows the goals of this school.	1	2	3	4
9. Students here do as little as they have to.	1	2	3	4
10. People here usually avoid admitting that problems exist.	1	2	3	4
11. Students know exactly what will happen when they break a rule.	1	2	3	4
12. The same students always end up together in the same classes.	1	2	3	4
13. Students help make the rules in this school.	1	2	3	4
14. The students here have a lot of school spirit.	1	2	3	4
15. People here make you feel that you're wasting their time when you ask for help.	1	2	3	4

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
16. Most students here would be upset if they came to school and found a lot of equipment destroyed.	1	2	3	4
17. Only the smarter students ever get the best teachers.	1	2	3	4
18. Students need to belong to a group to be liked in this school.	1	2	3	4
19. Students here learn many things that will be useful to them after they leave this school.	1	2	3	4
20. People in this school are afraid to speak out.	1	2	3	4
21. This school helps students to set goals for themselves.	1	2	3	4
22. This school doesn't demand enough from the students.	1	2	3	4
23. Students here talk openly about school problems.	1	2	3	4
24. School rules are broken so often they're considered a joke.	1	2	3	4
25. This school has something to offer to students with many different interests.	1	2	3	4
26. Students need permission to do almost anything in this school.	1	2	3	4
27. People in this school only look out for themselves.	1	2	3	4
28. Students seldom talk to the principal unless they're in trouble.	1	2	3	4
29. Many students here would prefer to avoid school.	1	2	3	4
30. Students in this school are treated fairly.	1	2	3	4

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
31.	There are too many fights between groups in this school.	1	2	3	4
32.	When students come to this school they learn a lot.	1	2	3	4
33.	Students can be themselves in this school.	1	2	3	4
34.	Most students feel that this school helps them meet their own goals.	1	2	3	4
35.	No one in this school thinks the work is very important.	1	2	3	4
36.	In this school, nothing is ever done about problems.	1	2	3	4
37.	The school rules are fair and reasonable.	1	2	3	4
38.	Students can choose to belong to many clubs and activities in this school.	1	2	3	4
39.	Students have little say in planning school activities.	1	2	3	4
40.	If someone walked around school all day feeling bad about something, nobody would even notice.	1	2	3	4
41.	Most people here will take enough time to listen.	1	2	3	4
42.	Few students who are able to stay after school ever do.	1	2	3	4
43.	Certain groups of students in this school are looked down on.	1	2	3	4
44.	People here tend to label students by the group they're in.	1	2	3	4
45.	This school teaches students how to deal with all kinds of people.	1	2	3	4

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
46.	Learning is enjoyable in this school.	1	2	3	4
47.	Students often work against what this school is trying to do.	1	2	3	4
48.	Most students work hard in this school only before tests are given.	1	2	3	4
49.	The same old problems are never solved in this school.	1	2	3	4
50.	Everyone understands the rules in this school.	1	2	3	4
51.	Students here have very few chances to make new friends.	1	2	3	4
52.	Student government has no power in this school.	1	2	3	4

SECTION III

. The purpose of this section is to find out how you feel about your home.

. Circle one number for each statement, as you did in the last section

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	My family has a lot of fun together.	1	2	3	4
2.	It's hard for me to talk to other members of my family.	1	2	3	4
3.	Often the members of my family go out together.	1	2	3	4
4.	I know quite a bit about my family's roots.	1	2	3	4
5.	When there's a fight in my family, I usually get blamed for it.	1	2	3	4
6.	My family would be upset if I got bad grades.	1	2	3	4
7.	My family encourages me to read a lot when I'm not at school.	1	2	3	4
8.	The people in my house think it's important for me to go to college.	1	2	3	4
9.	My family tries to protect me too much.	1	2	3	4
10.	You can never seem to find anything when you need it at my house.	1	2	3	4
11.	My family has clear rules for everyone.	1	2	3	4
12.	It's very hard to change the way my family does anything.	1	2	3	4

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
13.	People come to members of my family for advice about their problems.	1	2	3	4
14.	The people in my family get along with each other pretty well.	1	2	3	4
15.	The other members of my family don't really understand me.	1	2	3	4
16.	The members of my family do very few things together.	1	2	3	4
17.	The older members of my family tell us very little about the family's roots.	1	2	3	4
18.	Sometimes people at my house yell at me when I haven't done anything wrong.	1	2	3	4
19.	My family would be upset if I got into trouble in school.	1	2	3	4
20.	The people in my family seldom teach me how to do new things around the house.	1	2	3	4
21.	I have a pretty good idea of what I want to do after school.	1	2	3	4
22.	The other members of my family feel it's all right for me to be alone in the house.	1	2	3	4
23.	If something breaks at my house, it is fixed or replaced quickly.	1	2	3	4
24.	I am allowed to watch TV whenever I want to.	1	2	3	4
25.	The members of my family usually accept ideas from each other.	1	2	3	4
26.	My family keeps mostly to itself.	1	2	3	4
27.	My house is a friendly place to come back to every day.	1	2	3	4

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
28.	When I get in trouble I can discuss it with members of my family.	1	2	3	4
29.	Everyone in my family helps to take care of the house.	1	2	3	4
30.	My family likes me to be friends with kids who have the same roots we have.	1	2	3	4
31.	When something goes wrong in our family, the same person usually gets blamed.	1	2	3	4
32.	The people in my family keep after me to study a lot.	1	2	3	4
33.	The people at my house want me to ask them questions when I don't understand something.	2	3	4	5
34.	I know I must do well in school if I am to do well in life.	1	2	3	4
35.	My family allows me to make my own decisions about what clothes to wear.	1	2	3	4
36.	If we're having visitors to our house, everything is ready when they arrive.	1	2	3	4
37.	At home I am allowed to watch any TV program I want to.	1	2	3	4
38.	The other people in my family seem very interested in my wishes and ideas.	1	2	3	4
39.	Neighbors and relatives are always coming and going at our house.	1	2	3	4
40.	It seems like the people in my family are always finding fault with me.	1	2	3	4
41.	I can talk easily to the members of my family.	1	2	3	4
42.	The members of my family enjoy playing games together.	1	2	3	4

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
43.	I feel proud to tell people about my family's roots.	1	2	3	4
44.	My family expects too much of me for a person my age.	1	2	3	4
45.	My parents encourage me to do extra things at school, like music, sports, and clubs.	1	2	3	4
46.	The people in my family think it's important to have activities or hobbies outside of school.	1	2	3	4
47.	The other members of my family are not very interested in what kind of work I will do when I grow up.	1	2	3	4
48.	My family has rules about when I have to be home.	1	2	3	4
49.	At my house we fight a lot about what TV programs to watch.	1	2	3	4
50.	At meals, we have to wait until everyone is served before beginning to eat.	1	2	3	4
51.	I can think of several times when I was able to help make an important family decision.	1	2	3	4
52.	Someone from my family is always active in the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA) at my school.	1	2	3	4

Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire, Item-to-Variable Assignments and Item Polarities of the Home and School Climate Sections

HOME CLIMATE QUESTIONNAIRE

Final Survey Draft
April, 1981

RELATIONSHIPS

A. Sense of Cohesiveness

1. My family has a lot of fun together.

14. The people in my family get along with each other pretty well.

27. My home is a friendly place to come back to every day.

— 40. It seems like the people in my family are always finding fault with me.

B. Communication

— 2. It's hard for me to talk to other members of my family.

— 15. The other members of my family don't really understand me.

28. When I get in trouble I can discuss it with members of my family.

41. I can talk easily to the members of my family.

C. Involvement

3. Often the members of my family go out together.

— 16. The members of my family do very few things together.

29. Everyone in my family helps to take care of the house.

42. The members of my family enjoy playing games together.

D. Ethnicity

4. I know quite a bit about my family's roots.

— 17. The older members of my family tell us very little about the family's roots.

30. My family likes me to be friends with kids who have the same roots we have.

43. I feel proud to tell people about my family's roots.

E. Equity and Factions

— 5. When there's a fight in my family, I usually get blamed for it.

— 18. Sometimes people at my house yell at me when I haven't done anything wrong.

— 31. When something goes wrong in our family, the same person usually gets blamed.

— 44. My family expects too much of me for a person my age.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

A. School Learning

6. My family would be upset if I got bad grades.

19. My family would be upset if I got into trouble in school

32. The people in my family keep after me to study a lot.

45. My parents encourage me to do extra things at school, like music, sports, and clubs.

B. Out-of-School Learning

7. My family encourages me to read a lot when I'm not at school.

— 20. The people in my family seldom teach me how to do new things around the house.

33. The people at my house want me to ask them questions when I don't understand something.

46. The people in my family think it's important to have activities or hobbies outside of school.

C. Aspirations and Identity

8. The people in my house think it's important for me to go to college.

21. I have a pretty good idea of what I want to do after school.

34. I know I must do well in school if I am to do well in life.

— 47. The other members of my family are not very interested in what kind of work I will do when I grow up.

C. Maturity

— 9. My family tries to protect me too much.

22. The other members of my family feel it's all right for me to be alone in the house.

35. My family allows me to make my own decisions about what clothes to wear.

48. My family has rules about when I have to be home.

ORGANIZATION

A. Dealing With Problems

— 10. You can never seem to find anything when you need it at my house.

23. If something breaks at my house, it is fixed or replaced quickly.

36. If we're having visitors to our house, everything is ready when they arrive.

— 49. At my house we fight a lot about what TV programs to watch.

B. Structure

11. My family has clear rules for everyone.

— 24. I am allowed to watch TV whenever I want to.

— 37. At home I am allowed to watch any TV program I want to.

50. At meals, we all have to wait until everyone is served before beginning to eat.

C. Influence

— 12. It's very hard to change the way my family does anything.

25. The members of my family usually accept ideas from each other.

38. The other people in my family seem very interested in my wishes and ideas.

51. I can think of several times when I was able to help make an important family decision.

D. External Relations

13. People come to members of my family for advice about their problems.

— 26. My family keeps mostly to itself.

39. Neighbors and relatives are always coming and going at our house.

52. Someone from my family is always active in the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA) at my school.

Domain, Variable, and Item Statistics for the 1977 Student School Climate Questionnaire

SCHOOL CLIMATE DOMAIN ONE -- RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships involve feelings and opinions about how students, teachers, administrators and parents get along with and support one another. Relationships include the following variables and questionnaire items:

A. COMMUNITY: Perceptions of the level of friendship and mutual support school members feel toward each other.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.41	.74	.53	.42	1.	Students would rather be in this school than in any other school.
2.61	.90	.63	.51	14.	The students here have a lot of school spirit.
2.51	.65	.59	.48	27.	People in this school only look out for themselves.
2.79	.76	.60	.46	40.	If I walked around school all day feeling bad about something, nobody would even notice.

B. ACCESSIBILITY AND RECEPTIVITY: Perceptions of the availability and openness of school members to conversation and assistance about concerns.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.56	.70	.64	.53	2.	You can get good advice in this school when you need it.
2.80	.66	.64	.53	15.	People here make you feel that you're wasting time when you ask for help.
1.96	.81	.49	.46	28.	Students seldom talk to the principal unless they're in trouble.
2.66	.56	.63	.56	41.	Most people here will take enough time to listen.

* Correlation of item with variable.

** Correlation of item with domain.

C. INVOLVEMENT: Perceptions of the extent of school members' interest and participation in learning, social, and other school activities.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.29	.67	.56	.43	3.	On most days I look forward to my classes.
2.76	.88	.59	.44	16.	Most students here would be upset if they came to school and found a lot of equipment destroyed.
2.07	.68	.61	.47	29.	Many students here would prefer to avoid school.
2.29	.62	.50	.36	42.	Few students who are able to stay after school ever do.

D. EQUAL TREATMENT: Perceptions of the uniformity of school members' opportunities and treatment in the school.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.69	.73	.60	.46	4.	Students here get the marks they earn.
2.93	.68	.53	.40	17.	Only the smarter students ever get the best teachers.
2.47	.61	.67	.58	30.	Students in this school are treated fairly.
2.00	.70	.45	.31	43.	Certain groups of students in this school are looked down on.

E. GROUPINGS: Perceptions of the extent to which group membership is a positive or negative experience in the school.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.47	.81	.52	.14	5.	You feel left out if you're not part of a group in this school.
2.69	.81	.64	.40	18.	You need to be in a group to be liked in this school.
3.01	.69	.52	.38	31.	There are too many fights between groups in this school.
1.90	.68	.59	.42	44.	People here tend to label you by the group you're in.

SCHOOL CLIMATE DOMAIN TWO -- PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Personal development involves feelings and opinions about the directions and conditions of learning in the school. Personal development includes the following variables and questionnaire items:

A. LEARNING ORIENTATION: Perceptions of the extent to which learning and acquiring academic, vocational, and interpersonal skills are emphasized in the school.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.18	.81	.51	.39	6.	Learning is more important than marks in this school.
2.74	.72	.70	.60	19.	Students here learn many things that will be useful to them after they leave this school.
2.58	.50	.65	.63	32.	When you come to this school you learn a lot.
2.51	.71	.55	.45	45.	This school teaches you how to deal with all kinds of people.

B. EXPRESSIVENESS: Perceptions of the extent of originality, and open expression of ideas and feelings among school members.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.58	.60	.62	.46	7.	Students are encouraged to discuss their own ideas freely in classes.
2.77	.69	.55	.37	20.	People in this school are afraid to speak out.
2.59	.62	.56	.44	33.	Students can be themselves in this school.
2.31	.66	.60	.60	46.	Learning is enjoyable in this school.

C. GOAL DIRECTION: Perceptions of the extent to which school members understand and accept what they are expected to accomplish, and provides a framework for focusing their efforts.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.52	.66	.56	.45	8.	No one really knows the goals of this school.
2.65	.50	.74	.66	21.	This school helps students to set goals for themselves.
2.46	.56	.70	.65	34.	Most students feel that this school helps them meet their own goals.
2.60	.52	.44	.40	47.	Students often work against what this school is trying to do.

D. CHALLENGE: Perceptions of the level of difficulty of school members' goals and tasks, and the pace of effort required.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.40	.67	.67	.49	9.	Students here do as little as they have to.
2.86	.62	.46	.18	22.	This school doesn't demand enough from the students.
2.81	.61	.57	.52	35.	No one in this school thinks the work is very important.
2.35	.60	.53	.35	48.	Most students work hard in this school only before tests are given.

SCHOOL CLIMATE DOMAIN THREE -- ORGANIZATION

Organization involves feelings and opinions about the way the school operates. Organization involves the following variables and questionnaire items:

A. DEALING WITH PROBLEMS: Perceptions of the extent of identifying, analyzing, and resolving school problems when they arise.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.67	.66	.51	.31	10.	People here usually avoid admitting that problems exist.
2.69	.65	.52	.33	23.	Students here talk openly about school problems.
2.83	.66	.59	.57	36.	In this school, nothing is ever done about problems.
2.30	.62	.56	.52	49.	The same old problems are never solved in this school.

B. ORDER: Perceptions of the extent to which school rules reflect established legal procedures, and are accepted by school members to maintain favorable learning conditions.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.90	.59	.51	.31	11.	Students know exactly what will happen when they break a rule.
2.42	.88	.53	.31	24.	School rules are broken so often they're considered a joke.
2.45	.75	.58	.59	37.	The school rules are fair and reasonable.
2.63	.58	.65	.45	50.	Everyone understands the rules in this school.

C. OPTIONS: Perceptions of the extent of choices available to school members regarding goals, courses, levels of challenge, and social opportunities, for example.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.62	.65	.37	.23	12.	The same students always end up together in the same classes.
2.73	.62	.69	.56	25.	This school has something to offer to students with many different interests.
3.03	.48	.59	.49	38.	Students can choose to belong to many clubs and activities in this school.
3.05	.62	.50	.38	51.	Students here have very few chances to make new friends.

D. INFLUENCE DISTRIBUTION: Perceptions of the extent to which school members contribute to decisions regarding rules, procedures, and options, for example.

MEAN	VARIANCE	ITEM/ VARIABLE*	ITEM/ DOMAIN**		
2.07	.72	.62	.48	13.	Students hlep make the rules in this school.
1.94	.78	.48	.29	26.	Students need permission to do almost anything in this school.
2.64	.73	.60	.52	39.	Students have little say in planning school activities.
2.62	.74	.63	.56	52.	Student government has no power in this school.

Appendix C: Figures and Tables for the Questionnaire Survey

Figure 1

Overall School Climate Ratings For The Six Survey Schools

Standardized Scores Shown; Mean = 50; Standard Deviation = 10

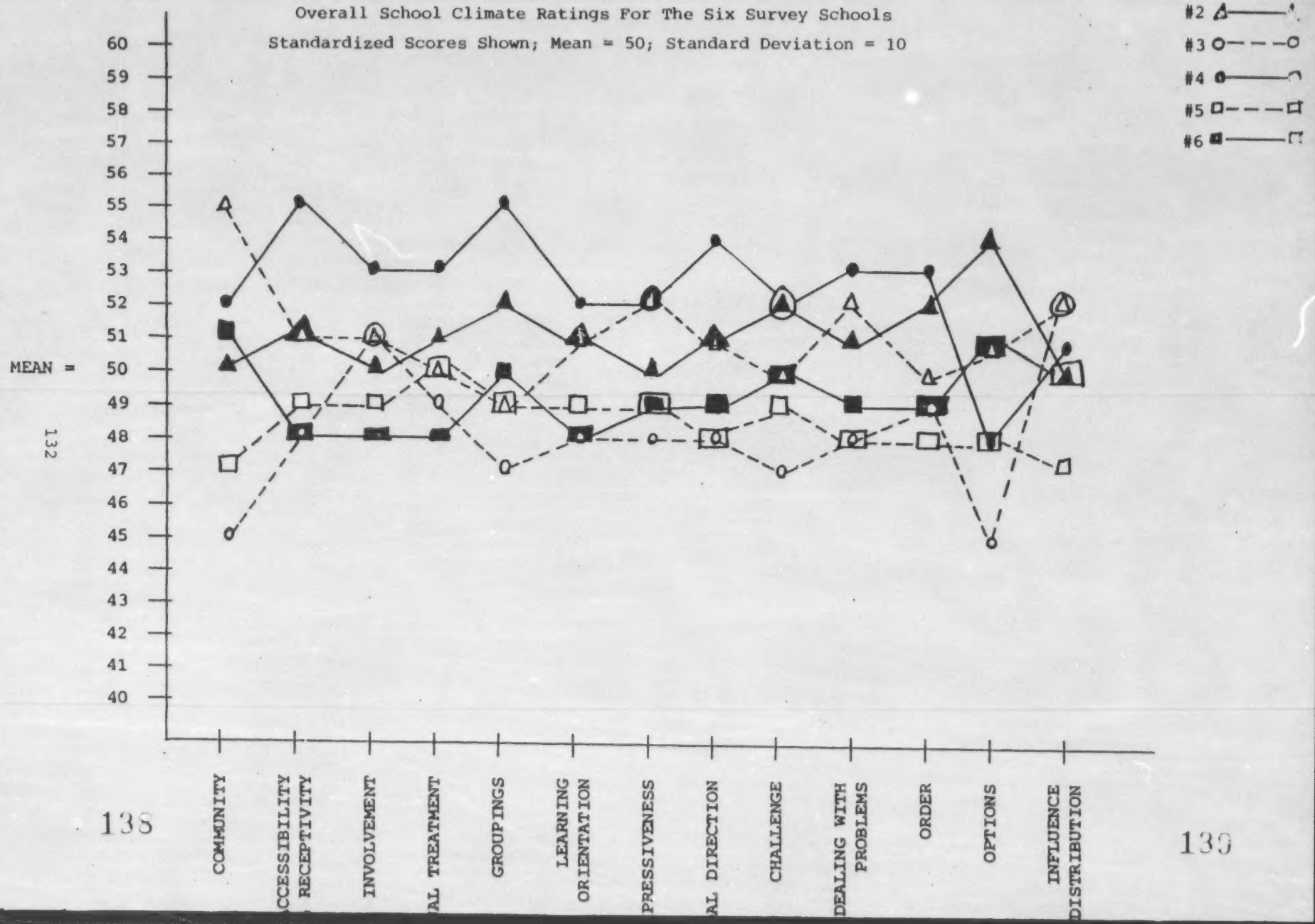
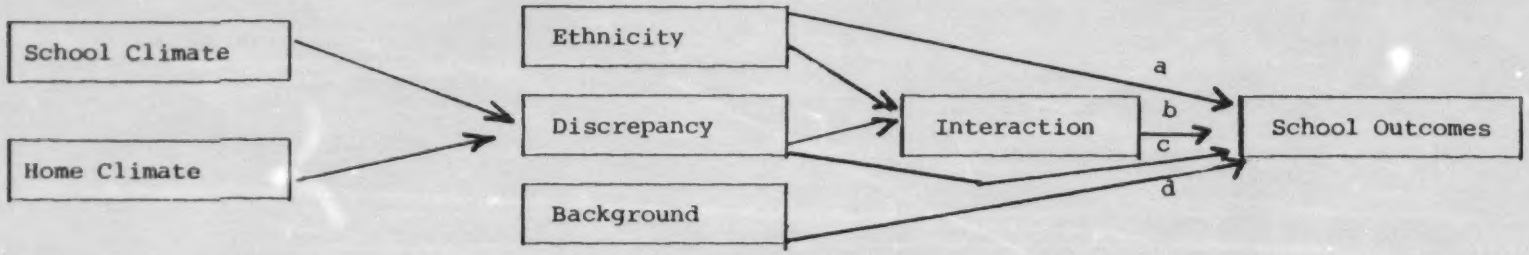


Figure 2

Two Path Diagrams Guiding the Analyses

The Ethnic Discrepancy Model: Is path b significant controlled for paths a, c, and d?



The School and Home Climate Model: Are paths b and c significant controlled for path a?

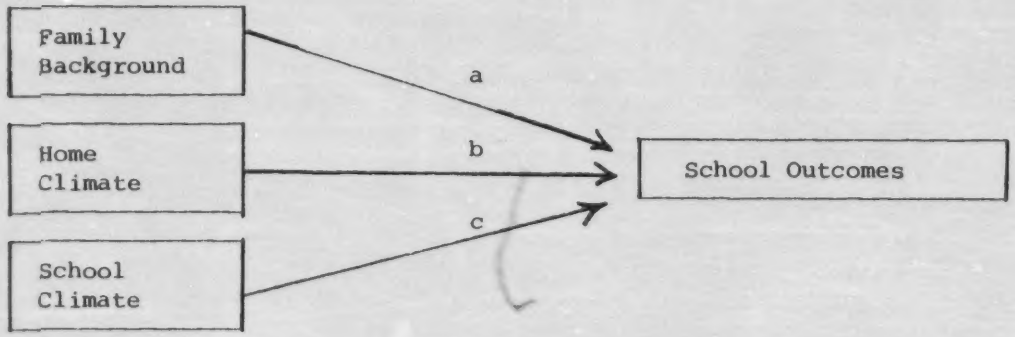


Table 1

Student Background Characteristics

Grade Level	
Sixth	.2%
Seventh	44.3%
Eighth	55.2%
Ninth	.2%
Sex	
Male	46.6%
Female	53.4%
Do you live with your parents	
Own mother and father	67.7%
Own mother and stepfather	6.5%
Mother only	21.7%
Father and stepmother	.8%
Father only	1.0%
Guardian	2.3%
Brothers living at home	
None	29.3%
One	39.2%
Two	20.2%
Three	6.9%
Four or more	4.4%
Sisters living at home	
None	36.0%
One	34.4%
Two	20.7%
Three	5.6%
Four or more	3.3%
Other children living at home	
None	92.2%
One	4.0%
Two	1.6%
Three	.5%
Four or more	1.7%

Table 1 (continued)

Other people in home (could check more than one)	
Cousin	2.6%
Grandfather	4.4%
Grandmother	7.0%
Aunt	3.3%
Uncle	3.7%
Friends	1.6%
Other non-relative	2.4%

Parents' schooling	Father	Mother
Did not finish high school	23.8%	23.7%
Finished high school	40.3%	47.2%
Business, trade, or technical school	8.1%	3.5%
Some college	3.9%	4.6%
College degree	16.5%	13.7%
Graduate study	1.5%	2.6%
Graduate degree	5.9%	4.7%
Parents' work		
Unskilled	5.5%	36.3%
Semi-skilled	26.1%	16.0%
Service work	10.8%	11.0%
Skilled work	25.6%	3.0%
Salesperson	7.3%	20.5%
Owner/Manager	12.2%	3.6%
Professional-College degree	7.6%	8.6%
Executive	2.4%	.2%
Professional-Advanced college	2.5%	.8%

Money in family compared to other families in school	
More	19.2%
The same	72.4%
Less	8.5%

Table 2

Sample Items, Univariate Statistics and Internal Consistency Reliabilities for Home Climate Variables

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reliability
Cohesiveness: My home is a friendly place to come back to everyday.	3.01	.60	.73
Communication: It's hard for me to talk to members of my family.(reversed)	2.86	.66	.76
Involvement: Often the members of my family go out together.	2.93	.58	.67
Ethnicity: I feel proud to tell people about my family's roots.	2.59	.54	.43
Equity: When something goes wrong in our family, the same person usually gets blamed.	2.63	.64	.67
School Learning: My family keeps after me to study a lot.	3.00	.54	.54
Out-of-School Learning: My family wants me to ask them questions when I don't understand something.	2.90	.53	.47
Aspirations: The people in my house think it's important for me to go to college.	3.13	.53	.52
Maturity: My family allows me to make decisions about what clothes to wear.	2.86	.53	.01
Dealing With Problems: If something breaks at my house, it is fixed or replaced quickly.(reversed)	2.82	.53	.48
Structure: My family has clear rules for everyone.	2.84	.53	.45
Influence: The members of my family seem very interested in my wishes and ideas.	2.65	.52	.57
External Relations: My family keeps mostly to itself. (reversed)	2.47	.49	.30

Table 3

Sample Items, Univariate Statistics, and Internal Consistency Reliabilities for School Climate Variables

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Reliability
Community: The students here have lots of school spirit.	9.89	2.16	.44
Access: Most people here will take enought time to listen.	10.13	2.08	.44
Involvement: On most days I look forward to my classes.	8.57	2.01	.39
Equal Treatment: Students here get the marks they earn.	10.69	2.01	.41
Groupings: People here tend to label you by the group you're in. (reversed)	9.84	2.08	.40
Learning Orientation: When you come to this school, you learn a lot.	10.55	2.10	.53
Expressiveness: People in this school are afraid to speak out. (reversed)	10.11	2.07	.44
Goal Direction: This school helps students set goals for themselves.	10.10	1.95	.49
Challenge: This school doesn't demand eough from the students. (reversed)	10.64	1.92	.33
Dealing With Problems: People here usually avoid admitting that problems exist. (reversed)	10.07	2.00	.39
Order: The school rules are fair and reasonable.	10.61	2.14	.40
Options: This school has something to offer students with many different interests.	10.95	1.99	.36
Influence Distribution: Students have little say in planning school activities. (reversed)	8.60	2.15	.38

Table 4

Student Outcomes

Grade point average (A=4, B=3, C=2, D=1, F=0)	
Mean	2.83
Standard Deviation	1.91
Academic rating by teacher	
Achieves poorly in school	3.9%
Achieves fairly poorly	14.2%
Achieves fairly well	53.0%
Achieves well	28.8%
School behavior rating by teacher	
Behaves poorly in school	1.0%
Behaves fairly poorly	9.9%
Behaves fairly well	40.7%
Behaves well	48.4%
Days absent from school	
Mean	12.10
Standard Deviation	13.85
Number of school suspensions (during the past school year)	
Zero	94.8%
One	3.3%
Two	.8%
Three	.2%
Four	.2%
Five	.0%
Six	.1%

Table 5

Home Climate Ratings by Racial/Ethnic Group

GROUP	N	COHESIVENESS	COMMUNICATION	INVOLVEMENT	ETHNICITY	EQUITY & FACTIONS	SCHOOL LEARNING	OUT OF SCHOOL LEARNING	ASPIRATIONS & IDENTITY	MATURITY	DEALING WITH PROBLEMS	STRUCTURE	INFLUENCE	EXTERNAL RELATIONS
Italian	159	51	50	52	52	51	50	51	51	51	52	50	50	50
Irish	172	51	51	51	51	51	52	52	50	51	49	51	51	51
Portuguese	114	50	50	49	52	50	48	47	49	48	49	49	49	50
American	125	49	49	48	48	50	50	50	49	51	49	50	48	50
Black	101	48	49	49	49	51	47	48	49	48	49	49	49	49
Armenian	43	51	50	49	52	49	52	53	52	50	50	49	50	52
British	75	48	49	49	49	48	49	48	49	49	49	50	49	48
French	54	52	52	52	47	51	52	53	53	53	51	48	51	49
Greek	34	55	54	52	57	53	50	52	53	48	56	50	53	51
Irish-Italian	32	50	51	51	48	51	49	50	48	52	51	51	51	51
Jewish	3	51	48	56	55	49	55	60	60	59	46	58	49	66
West Indian	2	56	48	56	55	52	52	52	52	53	46	46	52	56
Significance Levels		*		*	*		*	*	(.08)	*	*			(.07)
* = .05					*			*		*	*			
** = .01					*			*		*	*			
*** = .001														

Table 6

Home Climate Ratings By Racial/Ethnic Group and By School

SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5	6
	N	N	N	N	N	N
Italian	42	41	2	5	10 .High Aspirations & Identity (55) .High Maturity (56)	59
Irish	37 Low Ethnicity (47)	43	7 Low Ethnicity (46) Low Influence (37)	9	28 High Out-of-School Learning (53)	48
Portuguese	1 High Ethnicity (53)	35 High Ethnicity (56)	2	1 High Ethncity (58)	73 Low Maturity (47)	2
American	35	38 Low Ethnicity (46)	11	5	22 .Low Out-of-School Learning (44) .Low Aspirations & Identity (45)	14 Low Ethnicity (46)
Black	0	2 Low Ethnicity (46)	85	12	2 .Low Out-of-School Learning (44) .Low Aspirations & Identity (45) .Low Maturity (43)	0
Armenian	42 High Ethnicity (53)	0	0	0	0	1
British	17	14	3	0	30	11
French	7	10	1	1	32 .High Out-of-School Learning (53) .High Aspirations & Identity (54)	3
Greek	19 High Ethnicity (57)	8 High Ethnicity (55)	0	4 High Ethnicity (60)	2 .High Aspirations & Identity (55) .High Maturity (56)	1 High Ethnicity (58)
Irish-Italian	11	6	1	0	1	13

Table 7

Home Climate Ratings for the Same Racial/Ethnic Group in Different Schools

School	N	COHESIVENESS	COMMUNICATION	INVOLVEMENT	ETHNICITY	EQUITY & FACTIONS	SCHOOL LEARNING	OUT OF SCHOOL LEARNING	ASPIRATIONS & IDENTITY	MATURITY	DEALING WITH PROBLEMS	STRUCTURE	INFLUENCE	EXTERNAL RELATIONS
Italian	142	51	50	52	52	51	51	51	51	51	53	50	51	50
1	42	51	49	52	51	51	52	52	52	51	52	49	49	50
2	41	52	50	52	53	53	50	51	52	53	52	50	53	51
6	59	51	52	51	52	51	50	51	50	51	53	50	51	50
Irish	156	51	51	51	51*	51	52	52	50	51	49	51	51	51
1	37	49	49	50	47	50	52	54	50	52	50	49	50	49
2	43	51	51	51	51	51	53	51	48	51	50	53	51	53
5	28	51	53	53	51	51	51	53	53	52	48	51	52	52
6	48	52	51	52	53	51	51	53	50	51	49	51	52	52
Portuguese	108	50	50	49	52*	50	48	47*	49	47	49	49	49	50
2	35	51	50	48	56	50	47	44	50	48	48	49	48	51
5	73	50	50	49	50	50	48	48	49	47	49	49	50	49
American	95	49	50*	49	48	50	50*	49***	48***	51	49	50	49	50
1	35	52	53	51	49	52	53	55	53	52	50	49	51	52
2	38	48	48	49	46	49	48	48	46	49	49	51	47	48
5	22	48	47	45	50	50	48	44	45	51	48	48	48	51

Table 8

School Climate Ratings by Racial/Ethnic Group

GROUP	N	COMMUNITY	ACCESSIBILITY & RECEPTIVITY	INVOLVEMENT	EQUAL TREATMENT	GROUPINGS	LEARNING ORIENTATION	EXPRESSIVENESS	GOAL DIRECTION	CHALLENGE	DEALING WITH PROBLEMS	ORDER	OPTIONS	INFLUENCE DISTRIBUTIO
Italian	159	53	50	49	49	51	50	52	51	52	51	51	53	48
Irish	172	52	50	48	50	50	50	50	51	51	50	50	50	51
Portuguese	114	48	49	50	49	49	48	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
American	125	49	51	49	51	50	50	49	50	50	49	50	51	51
Black	101	47	50	51	50	49	49	49	49	47	49	50	47	52
Armenian	43	52	51	53	52	48	53	52	51	50	52	50	51	51
British	75	49	47	51	48	49	49	48	49	48	49	49	50	49
French	54	48	49	51	51	50	51	51	49	47	51	49	51	49
Greek	34	55	53	53	53	51	55	54	55	54	54	54	55	54
Irish-Italian	32	54	53	52	50	52	51	50	49	51	49	52	51	50
Jewish	3	46	57	45	65	49	54	53	48	56	46	53	47	49
West Indian	2	43	52	52	49	48	57	54	50	54	45	56	50	50
		*					*	*		*			*	*
		*						*		*			*	*
		*											*	

Table 9

Significant High/Low School Climate Ratings By Racial/Ethnic Group and By School

SCHOOL	1	2	3	4	5	6
Italian			. Low on 13 Variables (15-33)	. High Expressiveness (65) . High Challenge (63) . High Order (64)		
Irish	. Low Learning Orientation (47)		. Low Options (38)	. Low Expressiveness (47)		. High Influence Distribution (53)
Portuguese	. High Learning Orienation (57)		. Low Options (38)	. Low Order (42)		. Low Influence Distribution (45)
American			. Low Community (42)	. Low Expressiveness (43) . Low Challenge (47)		
Black		. Low Expressiveness (42)		. Low Challenge (47)		
Armenian						
British		. Low Goal Direction (48)	. High Espressiveness (54) . High Challenge (57) . Low Options (38)		No Significant Differences	. Low Influence Distribution (43)
French	. Low Learning Orientation (41)	. High Expressiveness (57)				
Greek	. High Learning Orientation (55)	. High Goal Direction (57)		. High Expressiveness (64) . High Challenge (67) . High Order (65)		. High Influence Distribution (56)
Irish-Italian	. High Learning Orientation (55)	. Low Goal Direction (44)	. High on 10 Variations (55-71)			

Table 10

School Climate Ratings for the Same Racial/Ethnic Group in Different Schools

SCHOOL	N	COMMUNITY	ACCESSIBILITY & RECEPTIVITY	INVOLVEMENT	EQUAL TREATMENT	GROUPINGS	LEARNING ORIENTATION	EXPRESSIVENESS	GOAL DIRECTION	CHALLENGE	DEALING WITH PROBLEMS	ORDER	OPTIONS	INFLUENCE DISTRIBUTIO
		***	***		*									
Italian	142	54	51	49	49	51	51	52	51	52	52	50	54	49
1	42	58	51	50	48	50	51	53	52	49	51	50	53	50
2	41	52	54	56	52	51	52	53	53	53	54	52	55	48
6	59	52	48	48	48	51	49	51	50	53	51	49	53	48
			*		•		•		*			•	***	***
Irish	156	53	50	48	50	50	50	50	51	50	50	50	51	51
1	37	55	49	49	48	49	47	48	51	50	50	50	48	53
2	43	53	53	50	53	54	53	51	55	53	53	53	55	50
5	28	50	49	46	51	49	49	51	49	48	48	51	47	45
6	48	53	47	47	48	49	49	50	50	50	49	48	53	53
													***	
Portuguese	108	47	49	49	49	50	48	49	49	50	48	49	49	49
2	35	49	49	50	50	50	48	48	50	50	50	51	54	48
5	73	47	48	49	49	50	48	49	48	49	48	48	47	49
		***					*	***					***	
American	95	50	50	48	51	51	51	49	50	51	50	51	53	50
1	35	55	51	49	41	50	54	53	51	52	52	50	53	52
2	38	48	51	47	50	52	50	48	50	50	51	51	53	50
5	22	46	49	50	50	49	46	46	49	50	47	51	48	48

Table 11

Significant (mean) Student School Outcome Differences By Race/Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Class, and Gender

10 Largest Groups	N	Days Absent	Days Suspended	Standardized Reading Achievement (.61 = Highest ach.) N		Grade Point Average (2.7 = B-, 2.2 = C) N		Teacher Academic Rating (1 = highest rating)	Teacher Social Rating (1 = highest rating)
Italian	153	8.7		74	.38	153	2.6	2.0	2.0
Irish	162	11.7		87	.41	160	2.5	2.1	2.0
Portuguese	109	12.3		33	-.22	109	2.3	2.3	2.2
American	121	11.0	Not	81	.11	120	2.4	2.1	1.9
Black	95	21.0		51	-.31	94	2.2	2.2	1.9
Armenian	42	7.6	Significantly	29	.38	43	2.7	1.9	1.9
British	73	12.8		31	.27	71	2.3	2.3	2.3
French	54	11.2	Different	18	.61	54	2.6	2.0	1.9
Greek	32	7.0		25	.32	32	2.7	1.7	1.6
Irish-Italian	31	8.7		16	.31	31	2.4	2.1	2.1
Socioeconomic Class									
00 (lowest)		Not	Not	113	-.07	215	2.3	2.2	2.1
01				140	.14	274	2.4	2.1	2.0
02		Significantly	Significantly	230	.28	454	2.5	2.1	2.0
03		Different	Different	52	.48	131	2.5	2.1	2.0
04 (highest)				57	.29	102	2.7	1.9	1.8
TOTAL					.20		2.5	2.1	2.0
Gender									
Male		Not	Not	Not		572	2.4	2.2	2.1
Female		Significantly	Significantly	Significantly		651	2.5	2.1	1.9
TOTAL		Different	Different	Different			2.4	2.1	2.0

Table 12

Significant High/Low School Outcomes By Race/Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Class, and Gender; Separately for Six Schools

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	N	N	N	N	N	N
ETHNICITY						
Days Absent	17 British High (12.1) 19 Greek Low (4.3)	35 American High (11.5) 6 Greek Low (3.2)				11 British High (18.0) 58 Italian Low (9.5)
Suspensions						
Reading Achievement		10 French High (0.56) 29 Portuguese Low (-0.16)				
Grade Point Average						58 Italian High (2.6) 44 Irish Low (2.1)
Academic Rating					28 Irish High (1.9) 21 American Low (2.3)	58 Italian High (2.0) 44 Irish Low (2.5)
Social Rating						
CLASS						
Days Absent						
Suspenions						
Reading Achievement		6 Upper Class High (0.51) 55 Lower Class Low (-0.13)				
Grade Point Average						22 Upper Class High (2.8) 124 Middle Class Low (2.2)
Academic Rating		11 Upper-Middle High (1.82) 54 Lower Class Low (2.52)				
Social Rating	29 Upper-Middle High (1.5)	11 Upper-Middle High (1.45) 54 Lower Class Low (1.88)				

Table 12 (continued)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	N	N	N	N	N	N
GENDER						
Days Absent						
Suspensions		101 Males High (0.18) 128 Females Low (0.06)	94 Females High (0.15) 60 Males Low (0.03)			100 Males High (.09) 110 Females Low (.00)
Reading Achievement		122 Females High (0.32) 99 Males Low (0.06)				
Grade Point Average			60 Males High (2.5) 93 Females Low (2.1)			110 Females High (2.4) 100 Males Low (2.2)
Academic Rating	115 Females High (1.9) 124 Males Low (2.1)	125 Females High (2.0) 98 Males Low (2.4)				
Social Rating	155 Females High (1.8) 124 Males Low (2.1)	125 Females High (1.6) 98 Males Low (2.1)	60 Males High (1.9) 91 Females Low (2.1)		145 Females High (2.0) 149 Males Low (2.2)	

Table 13

Significant School Outcome Differences for the Same Racial/Ethnic Group in Different Schools

	School	N	Days Absent	Days Suspended	Standardized Reading Achievement	Grade Point Average	Teacher Rated Academic Performance	Teacher Rated Social Performance
Italian		136	* 8.0	* 0.04	.41	2.5	2.0	*** 1.9
	1	41	7.7	0.0	.35	2.6	1.9	1.8
	2	37	6.0	0.2	.47	2.4	2.0	1.6
	6	58	9.5	0.0	--	2.6	2.0	2.2
Irish		145	10.8	0.09	.46	*** 2.4	** 2.1	*** 2.1
	1	35	9.9	0.0	.44	2.7	2.1	2.1
	2	38	9.4	0.08	.47	2.2	2.0	1.7
	5	28	13.0	0.14	--	2.9	1.9	2.1
	6	44	11.4	0.14	--	2.1	2.5	2.4
Portuguese		103	11.4	0.15	--	*** 2.3	2.3	2.1
	2	32	9.5	0.06	--	2.0	2.4	2.1
	5	71	12.3	0.18	--	2.5	2.2	2.2
American		90	** 10.0	0.11	• .12	*** 2.3	2.2	1.9
	1	35	6.7	0.0	.27	2.6	2.0	1.9
	2	34	11.5	0.11	-.02	1.9	2.1	1.8
	5	21	13.2	0.29	--	2.2	2.5	2.2

Table 14

Multiple Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies from Family Background and Ethnicity

Discrepancy	A Family Background	A+ Primary Roots
Community	.14*	.21**
Access	.15*	.17
Involvement	.12	.18**
Equity	.09	.09
Learning Orientation	.11	.12
Dealing With Problems	.13	.15
Structure	.14	.15
Influence	.16**	.16

NOTE: One and two asterisks indicate multiple correlations respectively significant at the .05 and .01 levels

Table 15

Correlations of Ethnicity With School-Home Discrepancies

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Primary Roots								
Armenian	.02	.01	.05	.05	.01	.03	.01	.02
Black	-.04	.02	.02	-.02	.02	-.01	.01	.05
American	.02	.06	.03	.02	.01	.02	.01	.07
Italian	.05	.00	-.07	-.04	.00	-.03	.03	-.06
Portuguese	-.06	-.02	.02	.00	.00	-.01	-.01	-.01
French	-.05	-.03	-.02	.00	-.02	.01	.01	-.04
British	.00	-.04	.04	.01	.01	-.01	-.02	.00
Greek	.00	-.01	.00	.00	.07	-.01	.04	.01
Irish-Italian	.05	.01	.01	.00	.02	-.02	.02	.01

NOTE: Correlations of .05 and .07 are respectively significant at the .05 and .01 levels.

Table 16

Multiple Correlations of Student Outcomes
With Sets of Independent Variables

	Achievement	Attendance	Suspensions	Grade Point Average	Academic Rating	Social Rating
A. Family Structure	.27**	.24**	.17**	.24**	.19**	.12
B. Discrepancy + A	.35**	.26**	.19**	.29**	.23**	.19**
C. Primary Roots + B	.41**	.31**	.21**	.30**	.25**	.23**
D. Interactions + C	.57**	.39**	.32	.40**	.38**	.35**

Table 17

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	-.06*	-.07*	.00	-.06*	.03	-.05	-.01	-.02
Suspensions	.00	.01	.00	-.03	-.01	.03	-.06*	.00
Grade Point Average	.04	.05	-.01	.09**	.04	.07*	.06*	-.06*
Academic Rating	.01	.07*	-.01	.07*	.04	.05	.05	-.05
Social Rating	.02	.06*	.02	.06*	.11**	.04	.08**	-.01
Achievement	.11**	.01	-.06*	.08**	-.04	.03	.09**	-.08**

Table 18

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 42 Armenian Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	-.03	-.10	.17	-.31*	.04	-.03	-.13	-.03
Suspension	-.08	-.03	.03	-.43**	-.11	-.01	-.14	.05
Grade Point Average	.32**	-.19	-.20	-.09	.10	-.21	-.18	-.15
Academic Rating	.37**	-.06	-.17	-.10	.01	-.15	-.17	-.13
Social Rating	.28*	-.04	-.12	-.04	.04	-.16	-.09	-.12
Achievement	.60**	-.17	-.31*	-.38*	-.30	.00	-.41*	-.31

Table 19

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 93 Black Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	-.21	-.04	-.06	-.01	.10	-.05	-.01	-.08
Suspension	-.01	-.01	.03	.10	-.02	.18*	-.10	-.19*
Grade Point Average	.25**	-.04	.02	.01	-.15	.01	-.01	.02
Academic Rating	.26**	-.11	.03	.01	-.10	.02	-.03	.11
Social Rating	.17*	-.16	-.03	-.02	-.06	-.01	-.01	.11
Achievement	.22*	.17	.04	.11	.01	.21*	.24*	.17

Table 20

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 119 American Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	-.10	.12	.20*	-.07	.01	-.26*	-.01	-.02
Suspension	-.02	.08	.05	-.05	-.00	-.00	-.12	.01
Grade Point Average	.10	.14	-.00	.27*	.07	.16*	-.05	.05
Academic Rating	.07	.16*	-.12	.21*	.12	.14	-.12	.01
Social Rating	.01	.04	-.21*	.19*	.11	-.06	-.06	-.12
Achievement	.11	.04	-.11	.26*	-.10	-.13	-.04	-.11

Table 21

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 106 Portugese Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	-.11	-.25**	-.12	-.03	.10	-.02	-.09	-.14
Suspension	.01	-.03	-.10	-.09	-.15	-.00	-.01	-.01
Grade Point Average	.07	.28**	.06	.11	-.09	.03	.10	.07
Academic Rating	.08	.25**	.10	.13	-.06	.01	.17*	.01
Social Rating	.01	.07	.11	.01	.07	.08	.06	-.00
Achievement	.34*	.49**	.16	.24	-.33*	-.01	.42**	.03

Table 22

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 54 French Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	-.16	-.16	-.11	-.17	.04	-.15	.11	-.25*
Suspension	.04	.20	.18	.09	.16	.21	-.04	.08
Grade Point Average	-.07	-.21	-.07	-.17	.06	.02	.07	-.18
Academic Rating	-.15	-.27*	-.24*	-.24*	-.20	-.08	-.10	-.14
Social Rating	-.14	-.21	-.23*	-.16	-.08	-.14	.01	-.17
Achievement	-.20	-.30	.02	-.14	.02	-.17	-.01	.01

Table 23

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 70 British Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	.13	-.23*	-.08	-.16	.15	-.08	.33**	-.06
Suspension	-.18	-.07	.13	-.07	.02	-.04	-.10	.11
Grade Point Average	-.08	.24*	-.08	-.03	-.06	.13	-.07	-.16
Academic Rating	-.11	.24*	-.09	.03	.02	-.05	.00	-.21*
Social Rating	-.03	.25*	.06	.15	.12	.01	.12	.08
Achievement	.12	.06	-.06	.02	-.02	-.04	.01	.23

Table 24

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 157 Irish Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	.02	-.08	.03	-.08	-.02	.02	-.09	-.04
Suspension	-.09	-.11	-.08	-.04	.01	-.01	-.11	-.09
Grade Point Average	-.12	-.01	-.09	.07	.01	.07	.09	-.07
Academic Rating	-.14*	.12	-.03	.09	.02	.04	.07	-.06
Social Rating	-.09	.11	.09	.00	.14*	.02	.11	-.03
Achievement	-.07	-.03	-.14	-.06	.09	.18*	.13	-.04

Table 25

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 32 Greek Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influenc
Attendance	.05	.08	-.21	-.08	.04	-.06	-.18	-.28
Suspension	-.23	.11	.34*	.04	-.06	.05	-.11	.11
Grade Point Average	.18	-.07	-.09	.03	.09	.11	.21	-.15
Academic Rating	-.08	-.11	.00	-.12	-.14	.02	-.02	-.17
Social Rating	.03	.01	.11	-.11	-.04	.04	.06	-.16
Achievement	-.03	-.24	-.20	-.14	.21	.26	-.02	-.01

Table 26

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 31 Irish-Italian Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	-.08	-.05	.20	.20	-.02	.13	.18	.02
Suspension	.18	.19	-.13	-.00	-.22	.05	-.21	.09
Grade Point Average	.23	.29*	.20	.32*	.40*	.32*	.21	.03
Academic Rating	.23	.27	.02	.19	.43**	.31*	.07	-.03
Social Rating	.14	.17	-.18	.17	.40*	.46**	.05	-.09
Achievement	-.09	.06	-.06	.10	.23	-.06	-.16	-.29

Table 27

Correlations of School-Home Discrepancies
With School Outcomes
For 152 Italian Students

	Community	Access	Involvement	Equity	Learning	Problems	Structure	Influence
Attendance	.00	-.10	-.08	-.03	-.13*	-.15*	-.01	.01
Suspension	.12	.11	-.00	-.05	.09	.14*	-.03	.03
Grade Point Average	.07	.01	-.05	.10	.14*	-.05	.09	-.04
Academic Rating	.03	.01	-.05	.07	.10	-.05	.09	-.08
Social Rating	.13	.12	.05	.12	.16*	.06	.19*	.05
Achievement	-.22*	-.13	-.26*	.06	-.02	-.17	.01	-.18

Table 28

Multiple Correlations of Outcomes With
Control Variables Home and School Climate

	Achievement	Attendance	Suspensions	Grade Point Average	Academic Rating	Social Rating
Background Variables	.33**	.26**	.23**	.13	.22**	.18**
Background and Home Climate	.43**	.29**	.29**	.19	.32**	.26**
Background. Home and School	.51**	.32**	.36**	.21	.36**	.34**
Background Variables	.33**	.26**	.23**	.13	.22**	.18**
Background and School Climate	.45**	.30**	.32**	.17	.31**	.33**
Background, School, and Home	.51**	.32**	.35**	.21	.36**	.34**

Table 29

Correlations of School Climate and School Outcomes:
Uncontrolled, Controlled for Background, and Controlled for Background, and Home Climate

	Achievement			Absence			Suspensions			Grade Point Average			Academic Rating			Social Rating		
	r	r_B	$r_{B,H}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,H}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,H}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,H}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,H}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,H}$
Community	.15**	.12**	.11**	-.12**	-.12**	-.11**	-.14**	-.13**	-.13**	.00	-.01	-.01	.15**	.13**	.10**	.19**	.18**	.14**
Access	.05	.03	.02	-.06*	-.07*	-.05	-.06*	-.05	-.03	.04	.04	.03	.17**	.16**	.12**	.20**	.19**	.14**
Involvement	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.07*	-.08**	-.06*	-.10**	-.10**	-.10**	.03	.03	.02	.12**	.11**	.10**	.18**	.18**	.14**
Equal Treatment	.12**	.10**	.08**	-.07*	-.05	-.03	-.06*	-.05	-.03	.00	.01	-.01	.16**	.14**	.11**	.20**	.19**	.16**
Groupings	-.06*	-.06*	-.05	-.04	-.04	-.04	.08**	.07*	.07*	-.03	-.03	-.02	.00	.01	.01	.03	.04	-.02
Learning	.12**	.09**	.07*	-.08**	-.06*	-.04	-.10**	-.09**	-.06*	.03	.03	.00	.18**	.17**	.12**	.23**	.22**	.17**
Expressiveness	.20**	.15**	.16**	-.05	-.05	-.03	.06*	-.06*	-.03	.04	.05	.04	.16**	.14**	.10**	.17**	.15**	.10**
Goal Direction	.13**	.11**	.11**	-.10**	-.09**	-.08**	-.04	-.04	-.02	.05	.05	.04	.12**	.12**	.07*	.18**	.17**	.12**
Challenge	.11**	.10**	.10**	-.06*	-.07*	-.07*	-.06*	-.06*	-.06*	-.02	-.01	-.02	.10**	.09**	.07*	.14**	.14**	.10**
Problems	.07*	.06*	.06*	-.09**	-.10**	-.09**	-.01	-.02	-.00	-.06*	.06*	.05	.11**	.11**	.08**	.14**	.14**	.10**
Order	.12**	.12**	.08**	-.07*	-.07*	-.06*	-.11**	-.11**	-.10**	.00	.01	-.00	.16**	.15**	.11**	.19**	.18**	.14**
Options	.08**	.06*	.03	-.05	-.04	-.02	-.09**	-.09**	-.05	.00	.01	.00	.06*	.04	.01	.10**	.09**	.04
Influence	-.08**	-.08**	-.07*	-.02	-.04	-.03	-.07*	-.07*	-.07*	.01	.01	.00	.03	.04	.04	.09**	.09**	.07*

Table 30

Correlations of Home Climate and School Outcomes
Uncontrolled, Controlled for Background, and Controlled for Background and School Climate

	Achievement			Absence			Suspensions			Grade Point Average			Academic Rating			Social Rating		
	r	r_B	$r_{B,S}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,S}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,S}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,S}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,S}$	r	r_B	$r_{B,S}$
Cohesiveness	.02	.03	-.08**	-.09**	-.06*	-.04	-.10**	-.07*	-.04	.04	.05	.04	.13**	.10**	.06*	.16**	.15**	.08**
Communication	.06*	.01	-.03	-.05	-.05	-.01	-.09**	-.04	-.01	.04	.04	.03	.10**	.10**	.04	.11**	.12**	.05
Involvement	.06*	.03	-.01	-.11**	-.07*	-.05	-.11**	-.06	-.04	.06*	.06*	.05	.11**	.09**	.04	.12**	.11**	.04
Ethnicity	.03	-.02	-.05	-.07*	-.03	-.01	-.08**	-.04	-.01	.06*	.06*	.04	.12**	.09**	.04	.11**	.11**	.05
Equity	-.00	-.02	-.04	-.04	-.02	.01	-.00	-.03	.01	.01	.01	.00	.10**	.10**	.04	.14**	.13**	.06*
School Learning	.16**	.10**	.05	-.11**	-.07*	-.07*	-.11**	-.07*	-.07*	.04	.03	.03	.14**	.11**	.08**	.09**	.06*	.03
Out of School Learning	.20**	.14**	.08**	-.11**	-.07*	-.06*	-.13**	-.06*	-.06*	.04	.04	.03	.17**	.14**	.10**	.15**	.11**	.06*
Aspirations	.25**	.19**	.14**	-.07*	-.04	-.03	-.14**	-.04	-.03	.06*	.07*	.06*	.23**	.21**	.18**	.14**	.12**	.08**
Maturity	.18**	.17**	.14**	-.02	-.01	.00	-.06*	-.01	-.00	-.04	-.05	-.05	.07*	.08**	.07*	.03	.04	.02
Problems	.06*	.03	-.02	-.06*	-.05	-.03	-.04	-.05	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.04	.09**	.17*	.04	.10**	.09**	.04
Structure	.01	.02	-.00	-.05	-.02	.00	-.02	-.02	-.00	.06*	.05	.04	.09**	.08**	.05	.06*	.07*	.02
Influence	.04	.01	-.03	-.03	-.02	.01	-.03	.02	.01	.00	.01	.00	.12**	.10**	.06	.12**	.12**	.06*
External Relations	.03	.00	-.05	-.07*	-.04	-.03	-.06*	.04	-.03	.03	.03	.02	.11**	.10**	.15	.11**	.10**	.04

Appendix D:

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